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BUDENZ, BENTLEY, CHAMBERS, CROUCH

Chief 'red experts' also lied, Matusow tells Senate group

By Lawrence Emery

HARVEY MATUSOW, the young man who now swears he lied in everything he said in a long career as a government witness and as an aid to Sen. Joseph McCarthy, last week charged that other professional government witnesses are equally unreliable. He specifically named Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Bentley, Whittaker Chambers and Paul Crouch during two days of questioning before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which has often used him as an "expert" on communism. Matusow said he would not plead guilty to a perjury charge unless the others he named were also brought up on charges. Of them he said:

Bulletin!

INDICTMENTS against seven persons charged with violating the Smith Act in Connecticut were dismissed Feb. 23 in a defense challenge of the grand jury that handed up the indictments last June 4. U. S. District Judge Robert T. Anderson ruled that the grand jury had been improperly constituted and its members not properly examined as to their qualifications. The defense had contended that the grand jury list for 1953, from which the members had been drawn, was dominated by big businessmen and their wives and included no representatives of labor or the Negro people. The defendants were ordered continued in their present bond for 21 days pending the government's next move. Judge Anderson's ruling marked the first successful defense challenge of a grand jury in a Smith Act case. It is expected to bring about long-sought grand jury reforms in Conecticut.

"I have a clear conscience and they don't."

He described a two-hour dinner he shared with Elizabeth Bentley on Oct. 3, 1952, in a New York restaurant and said "she cried quite a bit" as she told him she was broke, couldn't get a job. He quoted her as saying to him:

> "You're young. You can find a job. I can't. I have to continue doing this kind of work. I have to keep finding information to testify about."

He named as a witness to that conversation Llewellyn Watts, a former roommate whom he identified as a leader of a New York Young Republican Club. Committee chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) said the com-

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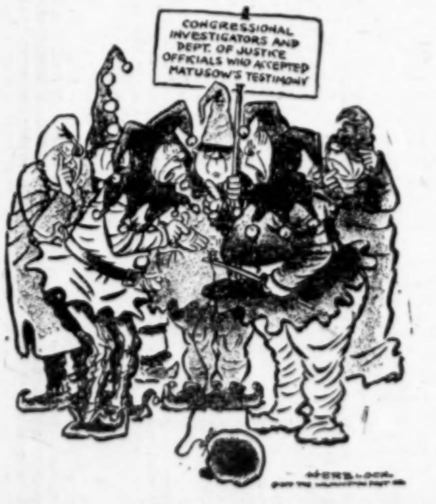
CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATORS AND DEPT. OF JUSTICE OFFICIALS WHO ACCEPTED MATUSOW'S TESTIMONY
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post
"Exactly! There's a plot to make us look foolish."

It is time, America, to raise a tempest over Operation Teapot

That's what the cute Pentagon press agents called the first of two new atomic bomb tests in Nevada. For four days the test was held up because high winds raised the threat of radioactive contamination. Then it went off (above) as freezing observers watched. In Japan 29,000,000 persons have petitioned to outlaw the bomb. In Stockholm in November, representatives of 1,000,000,000 people attending the World Peace Council meeting asked for a ban. Scientists warn of the increasing danger of radioactivity in the atmosphere from continued tests. Will Americans finally raise their voices?

ONLY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN HALT THE MADNESS

Washington quadruples A-Bomb production

How crazy CAN you get?

The hydrogen bomb tested by the U. S. a year ago polluted with lethal radioactive fall-out a 7,000-square-mile area . . . almost as large as New Jersey.

N. Y. **Times**, Feb. 16.

The Atomic Energy Committee report that a hydrogen bomb blast similar to the March 1, 1954, test in the Pacific would threaten the lives of human beings in a 7,000-square-mile area aroused only mild reaction in official quarters in Washington. . . . Rep. Carl T. Durham (D-N.C.) said the report showed "we can keep the problem of protection under control."

N. Y. **Times**, Feb. 17.

By Victor Perlo

THE latest AEC report's disclosure of the spread of lethal "fall-out" from one H-bomb brings all newspaper-reading Americans up-to-date on the meaning of the atomic arms race, in which Defense Secy. Wilson reassures us we are "out ahead." These other facets—stressed in the Defense Against Atomic Attack symposium at December's meeting of the American Assn. for Advancement of Science at Berkeley, Calif.—were already publicly known:

- U. S. defenses cannot stop all planes that might come with bombs each capable of depopulating New Jersey (emphasized at the symposium by Western Air Defense commander Gen. Walter Todd);
- **Apart** from "fall-out" effects, bombs dropped on 50 cities could smash 71% of U.S. industrial capacity and kill 63 million people.

The reaction to these facts is "mild"; meanwhile, as Washington sends out mostly headlines on peaceful uses of atomic energy, production of A- and H-bombs accelerates at a fantastic rate.

Published figures indicate a scheduled production of such weapons in 1956 four times greater than actual 1954 production. Here is the breakdown.

TELL-TALE FIGURES: The Federal budget for the AEC shows this growth since before the Korean War:

Fiscal year ending 6/30	expenditures (millions)
1950	550
1951	897
1952	1,670
1953	1,791
1954	1,895
1955 (est.)	2,050
1956 (est.)	2,000

This would seem to show AEC spending—after tripling during the Korean War—leveling off with a slight decline in 1955-6. The figures mislead.

Most of the spending during Korea was to build plants for production of H-bomb ingredients and more A-bomb materials. These plants are now mainly completed. Spending for construction is declining, while the new plants are going into all-out production of the weapons themselves. Here is the functional breakdown of the AEC budget:

	Spending in millions, fiscal year ending 6/30: 1954 actual	1955 est.	1956 est.
Construction & installation of production plant & equipment	$1,061	$804	$ 472
Repair & maintenance	45	40	37
Research & development	274	289	344
Education, training & health	1	1	1
"Other physical assets: acquisition & improvement"	514	916	1,146
TOTAL	1,895	2,050	2,000

MORE BOMB PER $: What is this last item, which grows by 123% while construction is cut more than 50%? The reality hidden behind some AEC humorist's designation is simple: the AEC **acquires** uranium and **improves it** into bombs. The meaning is: "Production of weapons." These figures cover explosive materials and warheads. All of the special cannons, airplanes, submarines and other equipment for delivery of atomic death are budgeted by other military agencies.

But the figures show less than the full rate of weapons-output accele-

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor* JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON *Executive Editor*

ELMER BENDINER, Editor of New York Section. TABITHA PETRAN, World Analysis. LAWRENCE EMERY, National Affairs. EUGENE GORDON, Civil Liberties & Negro Affairs. KUMAR GOSHAL, World Affairs. IONE KRAMER, Features for Living. ROBERT JOYCE, Art Editor. ROBERT E. LIGHT, Advertising & Buying Service. GEORGE EVANS, Promotion & Circulation. TIBA G. WILLNER, Los Angeles representative. MALVINA REYNOLDS, 1199 Spruce St., Berkeley, LAndscape 4-4289, San Francisco-Bay Area representative.

Vol. 7, No. 19 178 FEBRUARY 28, 1955

"Seek peace, and pursue it."—PSALM 34: 14.

REPORT TO READERS

Some heat and light on the Belfrage Case

THE BELFRAGE CASE comes up for argument before the Board of Immigration Appeals on March 9 in Washington. Most GUARDIAN readers know the main details of the case thus far and our current pamphlet, **The Case of the Stubborn Editor**, is now in the hands of more than 5,000 readers and many others with the full facts. In brief, Joe McCarthy demanded that Belfrage be deported for refusing to accommodate his witch-hunt.

We ask an immediate assist from you in bringing this case to public attention through your own home newspapers. Although the Belfrage Case is a most obvious attack on freedom of the press, the newspapers of the country have by and large ignored it. But they may not continue to ignore it if YOU bring it to their attention by an informed letter to your own daily newspaper. How effective this can be was made evident by the publication in the Jan. 1 Denver Post of a letter from a GUARDIAN reader, making the point that Belfrage faces deportation "not because they know or care if he is or was a Communist, but because he edits a paper which opposes what it sees as the government's drive for world domination. The liberty to do this is dangerous, they fear—and you must begin trimming somewhere."

"IT WILL BE IRONIC (the letter continued) if and when the garbage collector named History has deposited Joe on the dump, his 'ism' is permitted this particular success, in which he can so truly claim to have made the first move."

The tactics employed to frame a deportation case against Belfrage are now becoming suddenly and sickening familiar to millions of Americans through the recantations of Harvey Matusow and other witnesses who lied for pay in political trials. Elizabeth Bentley, who lied about Belfrage in her book, wept to Matusow that she "had to keep finding things to testify about" in order to earn her keep as an informer. Other informers have similarly broken down and confessed; most of the rest are down-at-the-heels panhandlers now, and soon may be expected to join the procession. Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R-Maine) has proclaimed: "The age of the informer is over!"

WELL, IT ISN'T in the Belfrage Case. There we had two Matusows to deal with, a big-league Hollywood ex-Communist whose original list of victims did not include Belfrage (did he, too, have to "keep finding things to testify about" to earn his continued immunity from the screenwriters' blacklist?); and a bush-leaguer named Lars Skattebol, a tramp newsman whom Belfrage once befriended. Both lied with abandon, and the deportation case built on those lies now goes before the Appeals level of the same Immigration Dept. which mounted the original case against Belfrage.

If the informer racket is indeed busted, then the only honorable course for the government is to free those jailed on testimony of informers, and to quash each and every case now in process based on the word of government informers.

This, or something like this, is what we wish you would write to your local paper. Write tonight; then put the heat on until your letter is published. Let's generate some heat—and light—before March 9.

—THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG
U.S.M.

The Matusow affair

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The following are excerpts of a letter I have just written to Rep. Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee:

"It had to happen and it was, of course, not unexpected. The tragic absurdity of the testimony of Harvey Matusow throws an enlightening glare on the whole sorry mess of Congressional inquisitions.

"When, where, why or how Matusow lied, serious though these lies are, are relatively unimportant. It is the Committee itself which must take the blame. Every word of every informer was final. Witnesses were not permitted to cross-examine and most often were given little time to prepare their defense. The Constitution was conveniently ignored.

"The shame of the nation belongs to those who side-stepped every code of fair trial in order to preserve the 'free world.' Unless persons of every political hue are assured the freedom to speak, print and think as they choose, none of us are free."

Thomas Grabell

Headline rewritten

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

As a constant and enthusiastic reader of the GUARDIAN, I feel entitled to enter a protest against the page one headline (Jan. 31) which just arrived today: "Will Eisenhower let the madmen take us into war?"

Since when has the GUARDIAN become an apologist for Eisenhower—as the headline implies? Does the GUARDIAN think Eisenhower has any independent position, is any more than a mouthpiece for whatever group assumes the dominant position at any given time?

The headline should have read: "Will the American people let Eisenhower take us into war?"

Lincoln Fairley

Call us more names

CHICAGO, ILL.

After reading the GUARDIAN from its inception—and upon close examination and microscopic analysis, I've finally discovered that you are folowing the Moscow-Peking-Owen D. Lattimore-Eisenhower-McCarthy-Notre Dame line; not only that, but I'm sure that Belfrage is a stooge for the Daughters of the American Revolution; and that Aronson has revealed to the Russians that most-kept secret (sh-sh) No-Hole Donut fomula.

Spies! Dupes! Saboteurs!—All of you. Please accept my five bucks.

Louis Fishman

How crazy can you get dept.

"I would gladly yield all American lives, including my own, to preserve our native land."—Rep. Eugene Silver (R-Ky.)

—Terre Haute (Ind.) **Star**, Feb. 16.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: O. Wells, Shelburn, Ind.

100% American

PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIF.

My patriot cry doth echo far
Long live the ghost of the Russian Czar!

My love for Franco covers ALL
And Chiang, I know, is a living doll.

No rebel's lurk in MY family tree
I greet them, Edgar, on bended knee.

I love General Motors and Standard Oil
Oh bless me, Edgar, I'm ALWAYS loyal!

W. W.

Levittown shenanigans

PITTSBURGH, PA.

In the Jan. 31 issue you mentioned that the Levittown projects in L. I. and Pa. have consistently excluded Negroes with the result that the NAACP has filed suit to end the practice. The U.S. Senate Committee on Banking and Currency recently investigated into a number of FHA projects. On p. 62 of its report is this on Levittown:

". . . William J. and Alfred S. Levitt built approximately 18,000 houses in Levittown, N.Y.; 6,000 of these were single family rental houses. . . . Cost figures are available only for 4,028 of those rental houses which were constructed by Beth-Page Realty Co., a corporation owned by the Levitt brothers. The capital stock of Beth-Page Realty Co. was $50,000. The FHA insured mortgages were for $29,-$46,500 Total construction costs were $5.1 million less than the FHA insured mortgages. . . ."

The Senate Report goes on to explain the complicated shenanigans used by the Levitts to minimize their income tax. So, on 4,000 rental houses, by overstating their costs, and having same accepted by FHA, they "earned" $5 millions on a $50,000 investment.

The Senate investigation covered only rental houses. Is there any reason to believe the Levitts were less "business" like in their handling of the sales houses?

S.

For the poor, no room

DRY BRANCH, W. VA.

I am not working and haven't since April 2, 1954, and at this writing I am trying to receive hospital treatment. I was hauled to a hospital in Kanawha City once, week before last, and made four trips to same hospital four times last week. But they would not admit me for I don't have any money. I am going to try again tomorrow.

I am doing all I can to pull off the chains from the mass who labor for bread, and at the same time trying to make progress in advanced ideas myself. To awaken the people is one heap big job. I wish I could do more but I have no funds.

C. E. Bryant

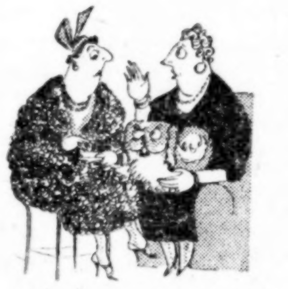
Nearer than you think

WESTMONT, ILL.

A timely quotation from the Irish reformer Charles Russell:

"Betterment comes if men will to have it. It never comes the way we think it will come. It never comes at the time when we expect it. It never comes from the source that we except it to come from. Often when it seems most hopeless it is nearest. . . . What seems to be required is that there shall be an effort for betterment, a steadfast protest against some evil, a mental loyalty to good."

Anton Siezak



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Please, darling, not one word about F-O-R-M-O-S-A!"

Truth about "foreign aid"

PARIS, FRANCE

In the article "Automation: Push-button peril to jobs" (Jan. 17), you end with a quotation from a Detroit tool and die makers' publication: ". . . Maybe the goods will have to be practically given away to us at home, the way we now give away butter and cotton and wheat to the people abroad."

I wonder how many Americans at home are misled in this matter, like the workers in Detroit? I have spent 10 years in Europe since the liberation of Paris and I can assure you beyond any question whatsoever that at no moment of that 10 years have I or any other common person been handed anything in the way of U.S. butter, cotton or wheat.

In the hungry years of '46-'48, the food I ate was French all the way through from tripe to potatoes. There was no powdered milk nor canned milk, no eggs and, above all, no butter. There was a certon amount of black marketing from U.S. PX's of some foods, but this was strictly private enterprise at triple prices.

I know most Americans are not to blame, but it is time they began to realize that Wall Street gives nothing away to nobody. Above all it must be realized that the money taken out of American pockets for "foreign aid" goes to such foreign shores as General Motors and Standard Oil.

Joe Hirsch

Bereft of words

BRONX, N. Y.

You invite comment on your story of Mr. Belfrage's position before the so-called hearing. Unfortunately, there are no adequate words for such comment. One can only stay with closed eyes and shaking one's head in the direction of heaven, in stunned and mortified astonishment. Where are we living? In enlightened America of the 20th century, or in medieval Spain?

For a long time I had the intention to convert myself to Christianity; but when I see what Christians such as Brownell, McCarthy & Co. are doing to other Christians—I decide, I'd rather stay what I am.

The dreamer

FOR YOUR FILE

By error the Feb. 21 GUARDIAN was listed in the masthead as Vol. 7, No. 19. It should have read "No. 18." This week's issue is rightfully No. 19.

What in the world is going on?

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THE ROTTEN PROPS OF THE SEATO CONFERENCE

Dulles' prospects in Bangkok are zero

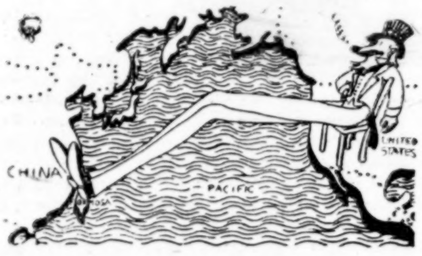
By Kumar Goshal

WITH Western allies deep in their own troubles and making their rejection of Chiang more and more noisy, Secy. Dulles was in Bangkok, Thailand, to encourage the Asian members of the S. E. Asian Treaty Organization (Thailand, Philippines, Pakistan) to defend the "free world" against most of Asia.

In France, the fourth anti-communist since Mendes-France's collapse was trying to form a government. Behind British Foreign Secy. Eden, who had flown to Bangkok, echoed the angry questions on the Formosa crisis with which he was bombarded in Commons by Labourites whom the crisis had united for the first time in years. Said Labour Party chairman Dr. Edith Summerskill:

> "In the Far East are all the ingredients of a world war. Are we to allow this bogus government of Formosa, which is solely concerned with administering a U. S. base, to jeopardize the peace of the world? . . . Chiang Kai-shek should be told that the workers of this country would not support the claims of a discredited dictator against the workers of the recognized government of the People's Republic of China."

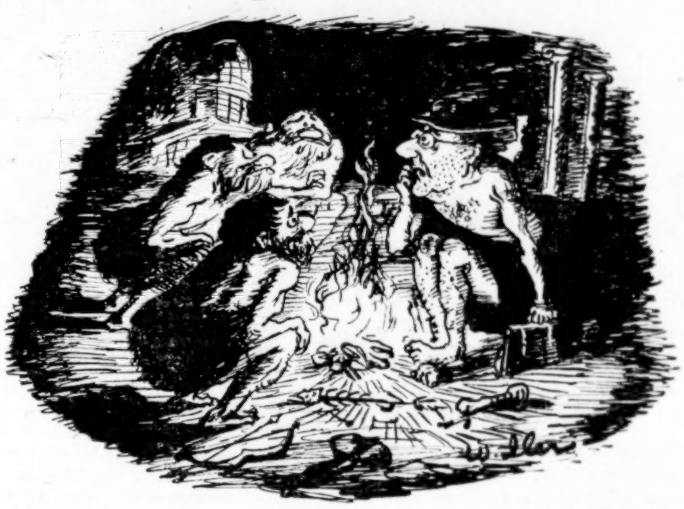
HAVE WE "PLEDGED"? The question of Chiang's status on Formosa, and whether the U. S. would fight to hold off-shore Quemoy and Matsu islands for Chiang, were left hanging in the air, continuing the danger of an "incident" which would start a big war. Secy. Dulles' foreign policy speech (2/16) tended to confirm the belief that the U. S. would hang on to the off-shore islands; it was highly pleasing to Sen. Knowland (R-Calif.). But "more and more Americans," said Sen. Wayne Morse (Dem.-Ore.) were "beginning to fully appreciate that . . . we have no legal rights in Quemoy and Matsu."



Effel in Humanite, Paris

"Hasn't a guy got a right to stretch his legs?"

Chiang's Foreign Minister George Yeh told newsmen as he was leaving the State Dept. that the U. S. has "pledged" to defend Quemoy and Matsu; later—under State Dept. pressure—he changed "pledged to" to "would" (**NYT**, 2/12). But Chiang's Navy commander Liang was as sure of the "pledge" as Chiang himself.



Drawing by Walter Iler

"The name is Dulles . . . J. F. . . . Now, as I was saying, after the agonizing reappraisal, we decided on a little massive retaliation, a preventive thing, a sort of calculated risk, you understand. . . . Radford said it would be real fast. Nice chap that Radford, a little quick on the trigger. . . . Ah, that fire feels good. . . ."

THE GRAND ALLIANCE: News from the U. S.' Asian allies painted a turgid the U. S.'s Asian allies painted a turgid background for the SEATO conference:

- In JAPAN, where "most wage earners and their dependents . . . exist on the thin edge of starvation and bankruptcy [and] live on the brink of disaster" (**N. Y. Herald Tribune**, 2/15), Premier Hatoyama and Foreign Minister Shigemitsu were discussing a treaty with the U. S. S. R. and an unofficial trade agreement with China. Left- and right-wing Socialists were planning to put up joint candidates in the Feb. 27 elections on a platform of total disarmament, non-aggression pacts with the U. S. S. R. and China and opposition to close U. S. ties.
- In THE PHILIPPINES one-tenth of the population were unemployed; the opposition Liberals have brought out a 14-point indictment of the pro-U. S. Magsaysay government, accusing it of waste and corruption and failure to solve basic economic problems and establish closer ties with other Asians.
- In PAKISTAN, where economic collapse was partially averted last October by a four-fold increase in U. S. dollar aid, a Provincial Chief Court declared invalid Gov.-Gen. Ghulam Mohammed's dismissal of the Assembly and assumption of dictatorial powers. The Assembly scheduled a meeting March 7, foretelling a bitter conflict within the government.
- In Britain's MALAYA colony, the London **Sunday Times** noted (11/28/54) that the originally 5,000-strong guerrilla army, even after an equal number were reported killed, "are still estimated at 5,000"; it concluded that "poor estate workers [still] believe Communism will improve their lot, and intellectuals [were convinced] of the justice of the revolution." Britain has called for troops from Australia and New Zealand, and was reported to have offered Malaya to SEATO as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier."
- In S. VIETNAM the Diem government, sure of U. S. support, "models itself on the military dictatorships of Formosa and S. Korea," and plans to postpone the all-Vietnam 1956 elections decided upon at Geneva (London **New Statesman**, 1/15). CBS-TV's Walter Cronkite (1/30) reported Washington has told Diem the elections need not be held.
- In THAILAND the corrupt Pibul dictatorship, with "no unity between government and people, little enough unity within the government itself" (Joseph Alsop, 1/12), was desperately seeking British help from neighboring Malaya to prevent a popular uprising.

From Singapore a N. Y. **News'** special correspondent reported (2/13) that a British customs official found Thailand "the center of . . . S-E Asian opium peddled by international racketeers [and] Red China's contribution to the . . . drug racket appears to be smallest of all."

- In CAMBODIA King Sihanouk secured "popular" approval by suppressing five opposition newspapers, arresting their staffs and forcing the voters "to cast their ballots in the presence of police and government officials" (**NYT**, 2/9).

OIL & BLOOD: In Bangkok one of Dulles' chief concerns is the maintenance of the status quo in SEATO territories, to preserve mounting U. S. investments in the area. (Pakistan has removed restrictions on foreign capital investment; Standard Vacuum-Caltex-Royal Dutch Shell combine is expanding its $56 million oil holdings in Dutch New Guinea; Caltex is completing a $50 million refinery in Manila to handle oil it produces in Indonesia and New Guinea.) Facing a more and more explicit American aversion to spilling blood in foreign adventures, Dulles' plan seemed to be to set up a joint SEATO military committee stationed, perhaps, in Singapore, which would study such plans as drawing "manpower from Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines; sea, air and manpower from France, Britain, Australia and New Zealand, and sea and air power from the U. S." (**NYT**, 2/11).

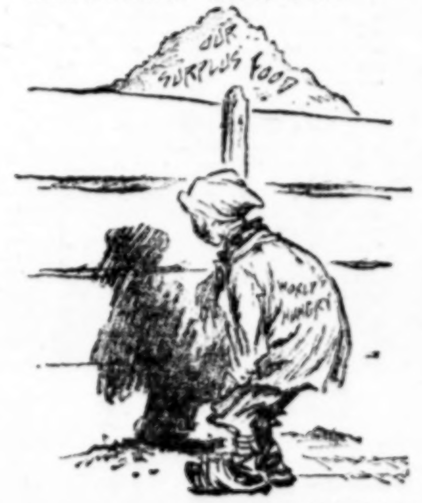
Little attention was being paid to the counsels of such men as former U. S. ambassador to India Chester Bowles, who have proposed big U. S. economic aid to these countries without political strings, winning "their people to the side of democracy" rather than "underwriting corrupt and ineffective governments." Referring to the powerful example of economic developments in China, Bowles warned that "the Soviet Union may soon be ready to expand . . . assistance to other Asian nations" besides China, as is indicated by plans "already taking shape in Afghanistan and India" (**NYT**, 2/12).

"LITTLE, IF ANYTHING": President Eisenhower has asked Congress for $1 billion aid to S. E. Asia (a UN report conservatively estimated S. E. Asia needs $8 billion a year aid to raise per capita income by 2% annually). But as Cornell University prof. Douglas F. Dowd pointed out (**The Nation**, 2/12), Secy. Humphrey believes economic aid will "run well under $100 million," and Dulles denied contemplating any economic aid at all. The London **Observer** commented (1/9) that if Congress should approve any help to S. E. Asia,

> ". . . it can hardly be expected that financial aid given to Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines will be quite divorced from the military and police effort those countries are expected to make against Communism."

Even these three Asian SEATO partners believe to their "regret" that

> ". . . little if anything will be done at Bangkok to implement . . . economic measures" (**NYT**, 2/11).



Louisville Times

Peeking through the economic barriers

The road of dollar diplomacy

By granting the President's request we are committing ourselves to a warlike posture in the Formosa Straits for the purpose of maintaining a corrupt and discredited government-in-exile in power. We are offering to fight to save a part of China's discarded past—the government of Chiang Kai-shek. . . .

[This] is another case of the "dollar diplomacy" which has been so fatal to our cause throughout the world for so many years. It is another case of America's might aligning itself with the old regime, the faltering, falling era of colonialism and imperialism, the era of the exploitation of the great mass of the people of the Orient by the West. . . .

Who speaks for Chiang? There is Sen. Knowland, who also speaks for powerful commercial interests on the West Coast . . . with important economic stakes in China under an obedient government such as Chiang represented. There is the China Lobby, so well typified by Alfred Kohlberg, the big New York importer who sent his Irish linens to China to have delicate embroidery done by the cheap labor under the Chiang government. Men like Kohlberg made millions out of the exploitation [Chiang] allowed. There are many of these dollar diplomats in this country . . . identified with economic forces with serious interests in China. . . .

Our strategy should have been and should be to recognize Red China. Not because we approve of their government . . . but because [it] is the government-in-fact of China. . . . We are dealing only with ghosts. . . .

Will we follow dollar diplomacy to the point where American boys will be falling on the shores of China to restore the corruption of Chiang to the mainland?

—Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times**, Jan. 25.

'The Case of the Stubborn Editor'

For fighting Nazism in its lair,
an American editor faces deportation.
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McCarthy used the McCarran-Walter
Law to try to silence a stubborn
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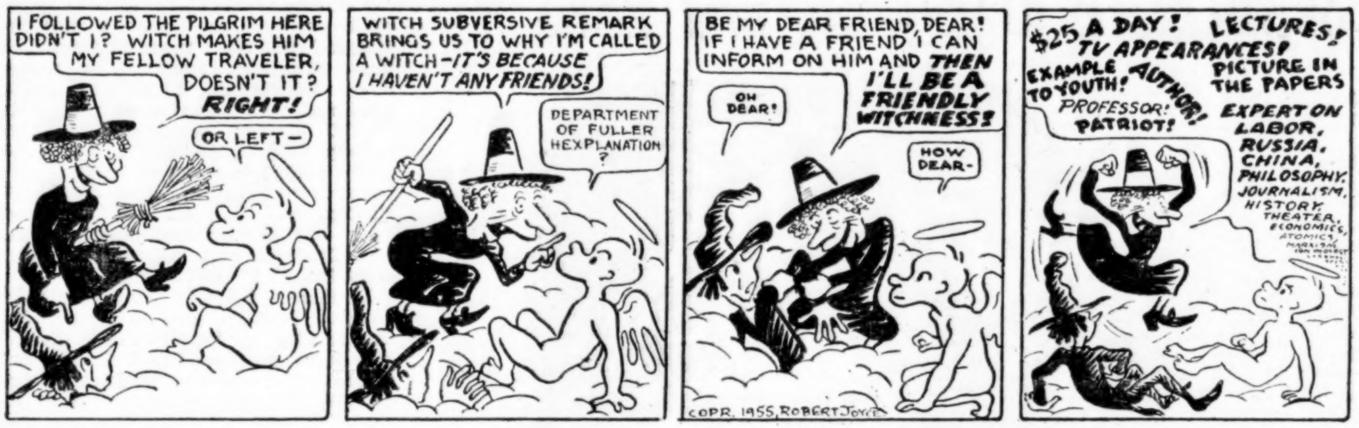
THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

Left and Right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ALP SPONSOR

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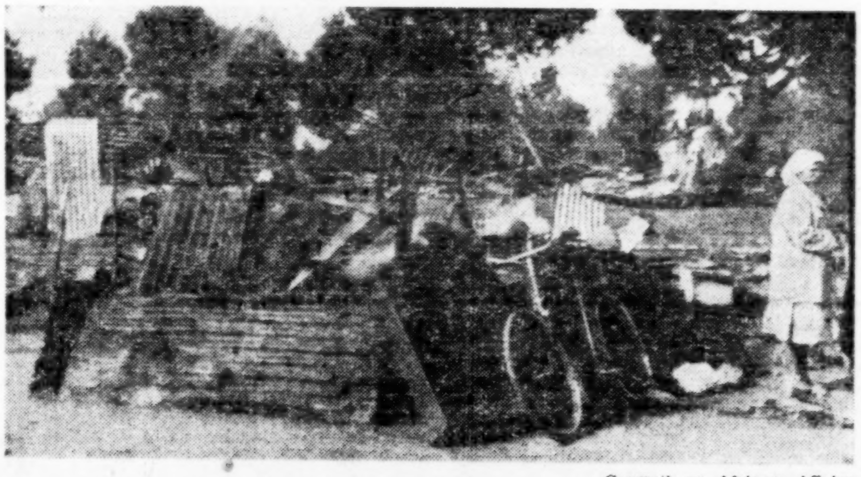

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"ROUGHSHOD RIDE"

Claude Lightfoot appeals 5-year Smith Act term

By Eugene Gordon

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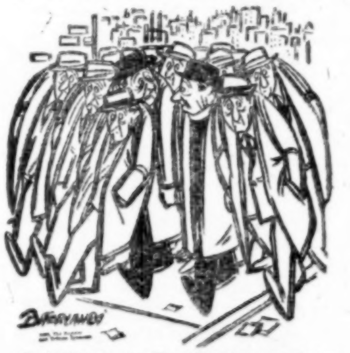
Communists had previously been seized and tried under Sec. 1, "conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow." Lightfoot, charged with CP membership, was held in $50,000 from June 28 to Oct. 3, then released on $30,000 bail. If tried and found guilty he could get ten years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

THE RECORD: A Lightfoot Defense Committee (189 W. Madison St., Room 1102, Chicago 2) dug into the history of Chicago's South Side to learn what he had done to warrant this punishment.



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"They feel that if you can have 'guilt by association' it must work the other way, too."

Packinghouse union organizer Peter Brown said when he heard Lightfoot speak at an jobless meeting in the 30's:

"I went back and told the workers in my plant about him—that there was a new young fighter for freedom rising on the South Side."

The Rev. Ross D. Brown recalled Lightfoot's street-corner speeches for Negroes seeking jobs in Woolworth's "when picketing stores to get work hadn't been done before." He thought his work might have "laid the basis for the later fight to get Fair Employment Practice legislation." American Legion post past commander Milas Stephens told the defense committee he had known Lightfoot "as an honorable man and a fine public servant."

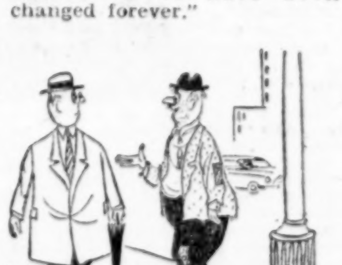
"DANGEROUS PLOTTING": As prosecutor, the Justice Dept. assigned Negro attorney James B. Parsons; three Negroes were in the jury box. In his summing up, Parsons called Lightfoot a "dangerous, stealthy, plotting, ambitious and vicious man." Defense attorney John Abt asked the jury:

"Where is the viciousness and danger in what Mr. Lightfoot has said and done in advocating equality for his people, in seeking to better the lot of all working men and women, and working for what he believes will be a better nation and a better world?"

The jury on Jan. 26 voted seven times before arriving at the vedict of guilty. The Negro press hinted that the government intended by this trial to frighten Negroes away from radical organizations.

SMITH ACT TEST WANTED: An editorial in the Louisville **Courier-Journal** (1/27) pointed out that "until now . . . it has been necessary to prove an overt act, although previous trials were forced to use 'conspiracy to advocate' as their definition. In the Lightfoot case advocacy of the violent overthrow of our government was presumed to be implicit in his Communist Party membership.

"Such a presumption rides roughshod over many of the libertarian beliefs we have hitherto prized. It is a case of such importance that lawyers and laymen alike must hope that an appeal can be presented which will induce the Supreme Court to review the Smith Act in its entirety. If it does so, and then upholds the Act, then indeed our concept of individual liberty as defined in the Bill of Rights must be considered to have been changed forever."



Wall St. Journal

"Could you spare a few pennies to combat the forces of communism?"

The Providence (R.I.) **Journal** thought the case "extends the anti-Communist drive into new territory which may be found to border closely on the area of individual liberty," and called for "a thorough test" by the Supreme Court.

Sentenced Feb. 15 to five years and a $5,000 fine, Lightfoot immediately appealed and was continued at liberty on the $30,000 bond. The American Civil Liberties Union next day expressed "grave concern, because it sees in this prosecution a restriction upon the individual's right to free assembly with others persons just because such persons espoused an unpopular course of action." The ACLU said it would join in the appeal to the Supreme Court.

Negro families whom Lightfoot and his party tried to aid in the Trumbull Park Homes are still under siege. The Justice Dept. has still done nothing.

AFRICA: THE GIANT STIRS—III

The Sudan — 3 critical years ahead

By W. E. B. DuBois

THE SUDAN, which means in Arabic the "Land of the Blacks," is today divided into two parts: French Africa to the west, with a population three-fourths that of Spain, occupying a territory nearly as large as that of the U.S.; and to the east the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, with nine million people on a million square miles. To this second part of the Sudan belong historically Ethiopia and Somaliland.

World interest has lately been centered on the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan elections of last November and December. Here, by peculiar maneuvers, a new African nation was born under black control, and the tie between the Sudan and Egypt strained to tenuous proportions; and that between the Sudan and the British Empire perhaps reduced to recognition of dominion status for a black nation.

THEY BOTH THOUGHT WRONG: When, after the Second World War, Egypt secured its independence of Britain, dispute arose over the status of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Egypt claimed it as part of her ancient territory, and Great Britain was in actual governmental control. However, the black Sudan demanded the right to decide, and both Egypt and Britain conceded that right. Britain believed that her status in the Sudan and her close alliance with the black intelligentsia trained at Gordon College would insure her long and pretty complete control. Egypt was sure that the desire of the Sudanese to get rid of white colonialism would throw the Sudanese into the hands of Egypt.

But there were flaws in the reasoning of each: the Sudanese under the Mahdi and the Khalifa had once driven the English out of the Sudan and kept them out from 1881 to 1898. The Sudanese on the one hand, and the Egyptians and French on the other, would have killed the British Cape-to-Cairo plan. This induced the British to threaten the French and overthrow the Sudanese in 1898. But the hatred remained and the leader of the anti-British party in the late election was a descendant of the Mahdi.

AN ELECTION SWEEP: On the other hand, a color line had arisen in modern Egypt which the Sudanese had long resented. In the first 1,000 years of the Christian era Arabs and Sudanese ruled, mingled and fought in the Nile valley. Black sultans like Mustansir ruled and mulatto poets like Antar sang. Finally in modern days Mohammed Ali, an Albanian, conquered the Sudan in 1820 and turned it into a slave-hunting reserve. When Britain secured control of the Nile valley the color line was strengthened in Egypt and all official positions were filled by Asiatics or Englishmen. The recent rise of Naguib, a mulatto, broke the color line, but even the pro-Egyptian party in the Sudan never forgot the race discrimination.

There came in the Sudan a merger of parties: the anti-British Mahdi Party—called the Umma—came to be opposed by the pro-Egyptian Nationalist Unity Party, which annexed the new Socialist Republican Party representing socialists and trade unions. This consolidation was helped by the pressure of orthodox Mohammedanism on followers of the old Mahdi rift. But those who saw in this the triumph of Britain or the triumph of Egypt were in for disappointment. The Nationalist Unity Party swept the elections, with over half the lower-house seats and two-thirds of the senators.

1956 A CRITICAL YEAR: The new prime minister, Ismail el Azhari, is a black man and has taken an independent line. He has made a courtesy call on the British prime minister in Downing Street. At the same time he is proceeding rapidly with displacement of the 1,168 British officials in the Sudan. In the army now only 30 British officers remain among 140; in the police there are only eight Britishers, and in the civil service only 20 white men as compared with 140 before.

AFRICA'S WOMEN GO TO THE POLLS

This was in Accra, Gold Coast capital, in 1953

The new black administration insists on Naguib's promises. They have refused to leave the backward tribes of the southern provinces to the control of the British government rule, and in 1956 the Sudan administration will decide on the degree of alliance with Egypt and Britain, if any.

This poses numerous difficult problems: can the Sudan successfully govern itself and, if so, what will be the trend of this government? Will it substitute private profit of a black intelligentsia for foreign exploitation, or will it follow socialism? One scheme is most encouraging. Fenner Brockway, British Labour MP, writes in September, 1953: "Outside Russia, the Gezira scheme is the largest nationalized land undertaking in the world. A million acres have been converted into profitable cotton and grain growing soil." It is an enterprise begun by government and private companies but now co-operatively run by the tenant farmers, under government supervision.

A NEW NATION ARISES: Watch the Sudan for the next three years. There is religious fanaticism, capitalist reaction, trade union activity, socialism and fear of communism. It will be a fierce fight but, as one black Sudanese said, "Imperialism was dealt a back-breaking blow. A new nation arises which has been suppressed for half a century."

Look at the map of Africa: the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan encloses three-fourths of the valley of the Nile. It borders on independent Ethiopia; on the south are the Great Lakes, with Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika; to the southwest is the Belgian Congo; to the west is the vast stretch of French Africa. Freedom and independence in the Sudan depend on the ability of the black leaders to build a self-supporting economy.

If this comes through trade unions and co-operative agriculture, what will this not mean for central Africa? But also for Britain this is Cape to Cairo and London to Calcutta; it will be worth a price.

Next week: French Africa—50 years of revolt.

"Seeds of Destruction"

SEATTLE, WASH.

Recently finished Cedric Belfrage's **Seeds of Destruction**. It's a wonderful book! Timely, informative, courageous and stimulating. Had only one regret when I finally laid it down. I was in Germany for some months (with the 17th Airborne Divn. at Hamburg) and Essen and on occupation duty with the 82d Airborne in Berlin) and I feel that I missed so much in not having an opportunity to meet the anti-fascist Germans whom Belfrage writes about.

Lyle Mercer

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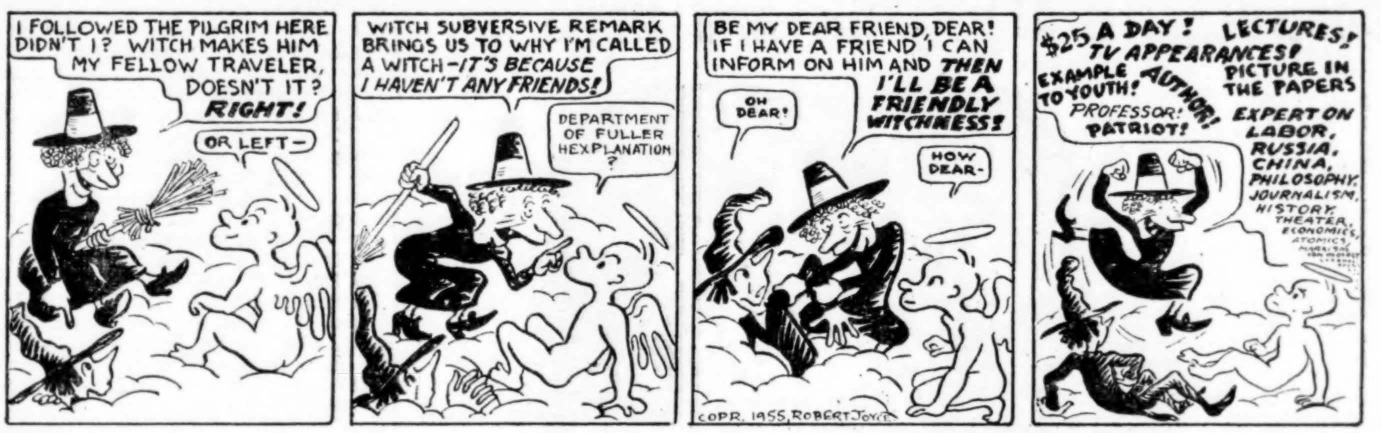
THE GUARDIAN ANGEL — Left and Right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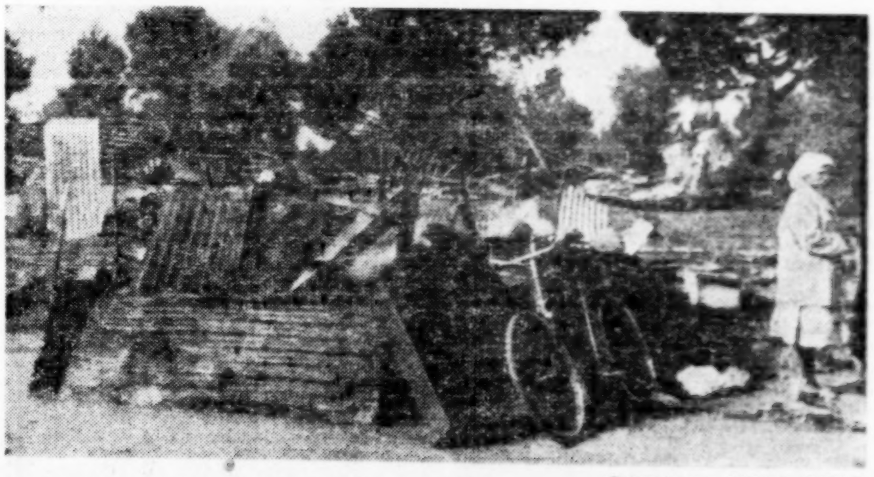

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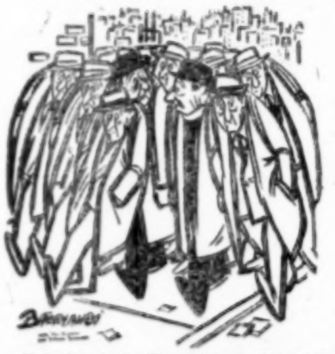
By Eugene Gordon

CHICAGO'S Trumbull Park Homes by last June had been under anti-Negro mob attack for more than a year. "Residents of the area are still living in a state of siege," the NAACP told Mayor Kennelly, demanding court action. None of the 135 arrested racists had been fined more than $100. Atty. Gen. Brownell ignored NAACP, trade union and Communist Party appeals for action by the Justice Dept.; but at that time FBI agents arrested Illinois CP and Negro leader Claude M. Lightfoot under Sec. 2 of the Smith Act.

Communists had previously been seized and tried under Sec. 1, "conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow." Lightfoot, charged with CP membership, was held in $50,000 from June 28 to Oct. 3, then released on $30,000 bail. If tried and found guilty he could get ten years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

THE RECORD: A Lightfoot Defense Committee (189 W. Madison St., Room 1102, Chicago 2) dug into the history of Chicago's South Side to learn what he had done to warrant this punishment.



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"They feel that if you can have 'guilt by association' it must work the other way, too."

Packinghouse union organizer Peter Brown said when he heard Lightfoot speak at an jobless meeting in the 30's:

"I went back and told the workers in my plant about him—that there was a new young fighter for freedom rising on the South Side."

The Rev. Ross D. Brown recalled Lightfoot's street-corner speeches for Negroes seeking jobs in Woolworth's "when picketing stores to get work hadn't been done before." He thought his work might have "laid the basis for the later fight to get Fair Employment Practice legislation." American Legion post past commander Milas Stephens told the defense committee he had known Lightfoot "as an honorable man and a fine public servant."

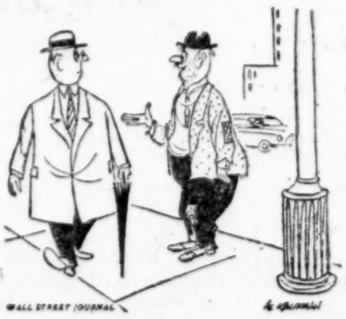
"DANGEROUS PLOTTING": As prosecutor, the Justice Dept. assigned Negro attorney James B. Parsons; three Negroes were in the jury box. In his summing up, Parsons called Lightfoot a "dangerous, stealthy, plotting, ambitious and vicious man." Defense attorney John Abt asked the jury:

"Where is the viciousness and danger in what Mr. Lightfoot has said and done in advocating equality for his people, in seeking to better the lot of all working men and women, and working for what he believes will be a better nation and a better world?"

The jury on Jan. 26 voted seven times before arriving at the vedict of guilty. The Negro press hinted that the government intended by this trial to frighten Negroes away from radical organizations.

SMITH ACT TEST WANTED: An editorial in the Louisville **Courier-Journal** (1/27) pointed out that "until now . . . it has been necessary to prove an overt act, although previous trials were forced to use 'conspiracy to advocate' as their definition. In the Lightfoot case advocacy of the violent overthrow of our government was presumed to be implicit in his Communist Party membership.

"Such a presumption rides roughshod over many of the libertarian beliefs we have hitherto prized. It is a case of such importance that lawyers and laymen alike must hope that an appeal can be presented which will induce the Supreme Court to review the Smith Act in its entirety. If it does so, and then upholds the Act, then indeed our concept of individual liberty as defined in the Bill of Rights must be considered to have been changed forever."



Wall St. Journal

"Could you spare a few pennies to combat the forces of communism?"

The Providence (R.I.) **Journal** thought the case "extends the anti-Communist drive into new territory which may be found to border closely on the area of individual liberty," and called for "a thorough test" by the Supreme Court.

Sentenced Feb. 15 to five years and a $5,000 fine, Lightfoot immediately appealed and was continued at liberty on the $30,000 bond. The American Civil Liberties Union next day expressed "grave concern, because it sees in this prosecution a restriction upon the individual's right to free assembly with others persons just because such persons espoused an unpopular course of action." The ACLU said it would join in the appeal to the Supreme Court.

Negro families whom Lightfoot and his party tried to aid in the Trumbull Park Homes are still under siege. The Justice Dept. has still done nothing.

AFRICA: THE GIANT STIRS—III

The Sudan — 3 critical years ahead

By W. E. B. DuBois

THE SUDAN, which means in Arabic the "Land of the Blacks," is today divided into two parts: French Africa to the west, with a population three-fourths that of Spain, occupying a territory nearly as large as that of the U.S.; and to the east the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, with nine million people on a million square miles. To this second part of the Sudan belong historically Ethiopia and Somaliland.

World interest has lately been centered on the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan elections of last November and December. Here, by peculiar maneuvers, a new African nation was born under black control, and the tie between the Sudan and Egypt strained to tenuous proportions; and that between the Sudan and the British Empire perhaps reduced to recognition of dominion status for a black nation.

THEY BOTH THOUGHT WRONG: When, after the Second World War, Egypt secured its independence of Britain, dispute arose over the status of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Egypt claimed it as part of her ancient territory, and Great Britain was in actual governmental control. However, the black Sudan demanded the right to decide, and both Egypt and Britain conceded that right. Britain believed that her status in the Sudan and her close alliance with the black intelligentsia trained at Gordon College would insure her long and pretty complete control. Egypt was sure that the desire of the Sudanese to get rid of white colonialism would throw the Sudanese into the hands of Egypt.

But there were flaws in the reasoning of each: the Sudanese under the Mahdi and the Khalifa had once driven the English out of the Sudan and kept them out from 1881 to 1898. The Sudanese on the one hand, and the Egyptians and French on the other, would have killed the British Cape-to-Cairo plan. This induced the British to threaten the French and overthrow the Sudanese in 1898. But the hatred remained and the leader of the anti-British party in the late election was a descendant of the Mahdi.

AN ELECTION SWEEP: On the other hand, a color line had arisen in modern Egypt which the Sudanese had long resented. In the first 1,000 years of the Christian era Arabs and Sudanese ruled, mingled and fought in the Nile valley. Black sultans like Mustansir ruled and mulatto poets like Antar sang. Finally in modern days Mohammed Ali, an Albanian, conquered the Sudan in 1820 and turned it into a slave-hunting reserve. When Britain secured control of the Nile valley the color line was strengthened in Egypt and all official positions were filled by Asiatics or Englishmen. The recent rise of Naguib, a mulatto, broke the color line, but even the pro-Egyptian party in the Sudan never forgot the race discrimination.

There came in the Sudan a merger of parties: the anti-British Mahdi Party—called the Umma—came to be opposed by the pro-Egyptian Nationalist Unity Party, which annexed the new Socialist Republican Party representing socialists and trade unions. This consolidation was helped by the pressure of orthodox Mohammedanism on followers of the old Mahdi rift. But those who saw in this the triumph of Britain or the triumph of Egypt were in for disappointment. The Nationalist Unity Party swept the elections, with over half the lower-house seats and two-thirds of the senators.

1956 A CRITICAL YEAR: The new prime minister, Ismail el Azhari, is a black man and has taken an independent line. He has made a courtesy call on the British prime minister in Downing Street. At the same time he is proceeding rapidly with displacement of the 1,168 British officials in the Sudan. In the army now only 30 British officers remain among 140; in the police there are only eight Britishers, and in the civil service only 20 white men as compared with 140 before.

AFRICA'S WOMEN GO TO THE POLLS

This was in Accra, Gold Coast capital, in 1953

The new black administration insists on Naguib's promises. They have refused to leave the backward tribes of the southern provinces to the control of the British government rule, and in 1956 the Sudan administration will decide on the degree of alliance with Egypt and Britain, if any.

This poses numerous difficult problems: can the Sudan successfully govern itself and, if so, what will be the trend of this government? Will it substitute private profit of a black intelligentsia for foreign exploitation, or will it follow socialism? One scheme is most encouraging. Fenner Brockway, British Labour MP, writes in September, 1953: "Outside Russia, the Gezira scheme is the largest nationalized land undertaking in the world. A million acres have been converted into profitable cotton and grain growing soil." It is an enterprise begun by government and private companies but now co-operatively run by the tenant farmers, under government supervision.

A NEW NATION ARISES: Watch the Sudan for the next three years. There is religious fanaticism, capitalist reaction, trade union activity, socialism and fear of communism. It will be a fierce fight but, as one black Sudanese said, "Imperialism was dealt a back-breaking blow. A new nation arises which has been suppressed for half a century."

Look at the map of Africa: the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan encloses three-fourths of the valley of the Nile. It borders on independent Ethiopia; on the south are the Great Lakes, with Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika; to the southwest is the Belgian Congo; to the west is the vast stretch of French Africa. Freedom and independence in the Sudan depend on the ability of the black leaders to build a self-supporting economy.

If this comes through trade unions and co-operative agriculture, what will this not mean for central Africa? But also for Britain this is Cape to Cairo and London to Calcutta; it will be worth a price.

Next week: French Africa—50 years of revolt.

"Seeds of Destruction"

SEATTLE, WASH.

Recently finished Cedric Belfrage's **Seeds of Destruction**. It's a wonderful book! Timely, informative, courageous and stimulating. Had only one regret when I finally laid it down. I was in Germany for some months (with the 17th Airborne Divn. at Hamburg) and Essen and on occupation duty with the 82d Airborne in Berlin) and I feel that I missed so much in not having an opportunity to meet the anti-fascist Germans whom Belfrage writes about.

Lyle Mercer

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A THIRD PARTY — OR NOT?

On independent political action

The mail response to John T. McManus' call for independent political action (Jan. 10) has been heavier than on any other single article in the GUARDIAN's history. We hope to print every letter received, but it will take time. We publish here two pages of letters on both sides of the argument—and some in the middle.

No rear-endism

OAKLAND, CALIF.

At last spring has come to politics, and the ice-jam caused by lesser-evilism, handmaiden to right opportunism, is showing unmistakable signs of cracking up and being swept away by outraged workers who are determined that independent political action is a vital necessity for the working class of America. The demand "For a Farmer-Labor Party," for many years a leading national slogan of progressive workers and farmers, must be raised again. Any leadership that insists that we continue to contemplate the rear end of the Democratic donkey should be sent packing. The GUARDIAN deserves praise for opening up a debate.

Charles Tobey

Discussion needed

MEMPHIS, TENN.

An old Chinese proverb says, "If you will lift a pitcher, you must lift it from the ground." We strongly agree that a national farmer-labor party is a wonderful objective, but we seriously doubt if enough people would support it at this time. Most working people and farmers recall the New Deal and still have illusions in the Democratic Party. We do not think a new progressive party will be possible until organized labor is united with organized small farmers. Then, a demand for a progressive party will have teeth. We further do not think this will occur until the working people see that the Democartic Party is not really trying to offer basis solutions to their critical situation which will become even worse as the crisis deepens.

Above all let us progressives remember the real enemies of the people and not aid them by destroying one another. Only the widest discussion can determine the best course to follow.

Two Southern Friends

First for peace

BERLIN, GERMANY

Many people in the U.S. are afraid and I keep wondering what they are afraid of. Are they afraid of war and destruction? If they are they should organize and do something. It is better to build and courageously plan a new party for peace than to submit to the Republican and Democratic influence which will lead to war. The people must oppose war and fascism, stand firm and build for peace and socialism—but first for peace.

Henry S. Nawrocki

Vinegar Joe

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

It's like a geometric self-evident truth that we had our best chance in '48. Remember old Vinegar Joe, who said, in the depths of his defeat: "I claim we took a hell of a licking." We need that kind of clarity, and the genius to dramatize things the way he did. Personally, I think we'll never gain another step until we have another depression, or until some world-catastrophe shakes people up; but I may be wrong.

Al Amery

"Sink Roots!"

NEW YORK, N.Y.

John T. McManus' current proposals for progressive action in 1955-56 would, I firmly believe, set back the American Left by 30 years.

Robert Claiborne

Mr. Claiborne argues ably, but far too lengthily for reprinting, for a program of wholesale participation by progressives in church, school, tenant, race relations, trade union and other people's activities. His slogan: "Sink Roots!"—Ed.

Bright spot

EL CAJON, CALIF.

I think you are right, and I admire you for your continued struggle, it is a bright spot in my gloomy world.

Bob Karger

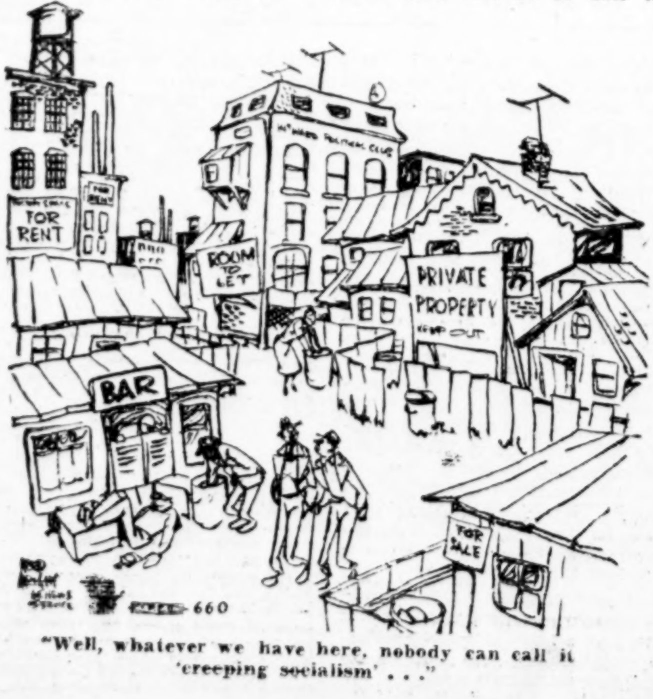
Socialist orientation

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Can a third party win in 1956? That makes no difference whatever. A third party such as you project, successful or not now or later, is our only hope of escaping from the various opportunist "coalitions" with which the Left, an unconscious prisoner of the lesser-evil fallacy, has deluded itself since the middle thirties. A socialist orientation is absolutely essential. Without such an orientation you will turn the wheel of "immediate tasks" forever, indistinguishable from other "liberal" groupings. Of course it is easier to get people moving on immediate issues; but what keeps them moving after the issue is decided or becomes obsolete? Unless belonging to (and even voting for) the new party represents a real alienation from the capitalist political system, the voter or member is open to the seductions of the latest "radical" petty-bourgeois spokesman—a Wallace, for example.

The socialism of such a new party must be unmechanical and undogmatic—Americans hate catechisms and the necessity of always being "correct." They also hate being "organized," or organized "at." The new party has got to be prepared to accept "anarchism," i.e., spontaneity, hard as it is for an organizational apparatus to absorb. A failure to do just that is what has up to now kept the Left sectarian, weak, and isolated. For our purposes it is better that a member of the organization be wrong sometimes, if he is a real live-o, than that he be able to quote the party scriptures in the style of a bad translation. Lastly, such a party can't be just an election-time organization. It has got to be organized in terms of small groups who continuously bring the platform—both the minimum and maximum programs—to the factories, shops, farms, etc. Otherwise this is just an occasion for talk.

Thomas McGrath



"Well, whatever we have here, nobody can call it 'creeping socialism' . . ."

Analogy

HARRISBURG, S.D.

The only hope is a new political party. To appeal to a congressman for a square deal for the plain people is like asking the prosecuting attorney in a kangaroo court to assist the defendant who is slated for a shakedown.

C. E. Ranney

The first step

SAN CRISTOBAL, N. M.

Your recent call for a national independent political party in 1956 well deserves the discussion which you invited. Whether a third party at this time is the most effective kind of political action seems to me highly debatable. The need for a party is evident, and is expressed by many people both in and out of the two major parties. However the existence of the need does not of itself result in the presence of conditions necessary to the creation of an independent party.

The presence of some labor support is one of those conditions. In my opinion it is the most important. Without it there will not be a third party, except perhaps in name. It is going to take numbers, not a name, to stop McCarthyism and to turn our national energies toward peace. Growing out of your own proposal, I would like to see a national caucus or meeting called to consider these questions: what are the needs of the people, what program will best help meet such needs, what action—political and otherwise—should be engaged in.

We who hold these views must try to unite ourselves. This is the first step. The NATIONAL GUARDIAN has held a formidable number of people together. I think that should the GUARDIAN become the house organ for a third party at this time, it could well decimate its readership and lose its useful leadership of progressive thought and action.

Craig Vincent

History of failure

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

The flood of letters in the GUARDIAN favoring construction of a new third party over the cooling corpse of one just dead makes me shudder with alarm. And I always thought only the reactionaries couldn't learn from the history of failure! I do not mean to say there can never be a third party, independent and progressive. There can be, and probably will be, but the political scene is not yet ready. Only a widespread motion of people disillusioned with old means and seeking a new, can create and fructify a party. Until our contemporary history generates such a dynamism, progressives had far better go where the people are—mostly in the Democratic Party—and spark to action the people's demands within the framework they accept.

To say we cannot wait for the industrial workers, the working farmers and minority groups to break away in large numbers is to say we can do without them. Conversely, they will say they can do without us. Such separation is unthinkable.

Pete

Discussion of problems

BERKELEY, CALIF.

I am sure that many of the great causes in American history such as emancipation, free and equal suffrage for males, women's suffrage, free public education, free libraries, the right of workers to organize, unemployment benefits and social security, have been urged by great national papers which were not the official expression of a party, and a great deal of the basic agitation for these causes has been carried out by movements which in themselves were not considered parties and did not run candidates.

We have been urging that the GUARDIAN become a great national weekly of discussion of social and political problems, and offering suggested solutions through parliamentary and other social action. We think it the province of such a paper to offer social solutions or socialist solutions ultimately to all problems, and immediately to some which have no other solution today, such as socialized health facilities, and public ownership and management of public transportation in practically all of our cities.

I do not agree that a call for a national conference next summer has any sound basis in reality right now, although I am convinced that the temper of the people is changing and may change very rapidly. We must be careful that the conditions for success are reasonably present. The article can be quite beneficial if it engenders a healthy discussion of these problems, and the GUARDIAN staff, benefiting from the wide discussion, lays more stress on the broad issues which must be the basis of any broad movement of the people.

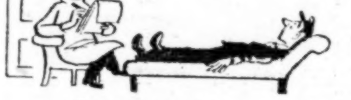
Bud Reynolds

Guardian conference?

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

We do agree that a real People's Party is needed today. But an effective People's Party could only be one which would unite much larger segments of the workers and middle class than could the proposed party. We would like to suggest that instead of a convention for a Third Party on Labor Day weekend the same time be used for a National Guardian Building Conference! Don't you think it would be wonderful if the GUARDIAN had double and triple its present circulation?

Two friends from New Mexico



Drawing by Gabriel, London

"Relax and tell me — apart from low wages, long hours, bad conditions and bureaucracy — why are you unhappy?"

It's a horrid word

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Congratulations and many thanks for a clear and long overdue call to independent political action. Your call will give heart to those who have with apprehension voted for "lesser evil" candidates upon the advice of ill-advised leadership who to this day insist that whenever a "lesser evil" candidate spits in your face it in only raining.

J. & V. K.

"A frightful void"

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

As a spokesman for a group of 17 independent socialists, who look to Pietro Nenni of the Italian Socialist Party as the world's leading socialist, we are in full agreement with Mr. McManus' position. The correct time to educate and win the people to socialism is now. There is a frightful void on the American political scene.

It has been shocking to us who worked in the IPP of California to see scores of former co-workers disappear from our ranks. These people in the past criticized us for being only "mild" socialists while they were "orthodox." Where have these people gone? To the Democratic Party!

We who believe in a real day-to-day struggle for improvement of our lives will not go into the Democratic Party. We are ready to build a movement in the Bay area without the "orthodox" people. We must move now before total despair sets in among working men and women. Let us speak for peace and socialism as an alternative to the two parties of the rich. We must have a party that will bring joy to all who work in and for it.

Henry Vellechio
A California Fisherman

"Capitalistic socialism"

CULVER CITY, CALIF.

A merger of all or near all the socialist parties would immediately strengthen the new political party and assure its registry on the ballot. It would aid its vote-getting ability and it can forge ahead from there on with a definite program of, say, capitalistic socialism for the homeland and a peaceful coexisting policy for the world.

• **David Leon**

The Neuberger example

OREGON

My husband and I worked very hard in the last November elections within the Democratic Party. We found some good, sincere people there. What happened in Oregon? Richard Neuberger was sent to the U.S. Senate, the first time in 40 years that a Democrat went from Oregon. This doesn't mean that in our efforts to help Neuberger in his campaign we thought he was the answer to our dreams. Far from it. But certainly, it was a tremendous thing to defeat a Guy Cordon, who represented the most reactionary elements of the Republican Party.

No, this is not the time for a third party such as Mr. McManus suggests. All that this would achieve would be isolation from the people who will some day voluntarily indicate that it is time for something different in the way of government. At the same time, we can continue to try to help people understand what is happening in our country and we can let them know that there is something better.

Name & address withheld

Sabotage?

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

We must learn to see and understand when we aren't successful. To call for another third party at this time—with socialism to boot—is being politically ignorant or refusing to recognize past mistakes or pure unadulterated sabotage. I am putting it strongly because if progressives fall into this political trap it would cut us off from any future possibility of forming a movement for political action organized by the American labor movement, with a platform acceptable to them.

Betsy Blom

Vote FOR something

DURANGO, COLO.

Let's not vote for Peter in order to beat Paul. Vote for the progressive candidate. I would rather vote for something I wanted and not get it than to vote for something I didn't want and get it. Above all, the candidates must be for peace and a country that belongs to us all and not just a few.

Lawrence Harper

The Quill move

BRONX, N. Y.

If we hope to multiply the numbers of those working for peace, democracy and social progress we must be aware of the actual degree of political maturity manifested by the most decisive section of our nation—our working class and its most highly organized section, the trade union movements; because when they speak it is thunder; when they speak for a Labor Party, independent of the two party system, there's a lot of trembling in Wall Street and in Washington.

A few labor leaders like Mike Quill have spoken for an independent political party of labor, but do they speak of the same kind of party HcManus speaks of? Do they speak of socialism or even of breaking with the cold war policy of our State Dept.? Of course not, but they do speak of the necessity of an independent political party to fight on the political front for labor's own interests, which is a most vital and dynamic development—something every progressive should press for.

A development like this, if realized, would bring in its wake an upsurge of progressivism in the mainstream of our national life

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McMa

A CAPACITY crowd of 250 filled
School of Social Science Feb
N. Y. Communist Party legislative
general manager John T. McMan
dependent political action. For
opposing views on the Left were
vigorous give-and-take.

The discussion (both speakers
bate) followed publication of a
the 1956 elections and a "call for
by McManus in the GUARDIAN (

Both Gerson and McManus
statements by Michael Quill, pre
Workers Union, whose call for in
labor was read by Doxey Wilkerso
and an official of the Jefferson Sch
prime issues facing the country
domestic fascism, that the forma
would be the key to resistance. Th
ward such a party and its timing.

INITIATIVE LACKING: Calling f
fore the 1956 elections, McManus

"The threats to peace, secur
equally ominous, openly ominous,
and Republican]. . . . Yet we wh
'48, who spark-plugged the fight
in our country stand for a truly
and for peace and friendship wit
we, the inheritors of the high pur
tions in our nation's history—w
divided, dispersed—and nowhere

Manus and Gerson discuss the role of progressives

illed the auditorium at the Jefferson Feb. 21 to hear Simon W. Gerson, ative director, and the GUARDIAN's cManus discuss the prospect for in- For the first time in many years were publicly aired in friendly but

eakers emphasized it was not a de- of a Communist Party program for ll for independent political action" IAN (1/10).

anus agreed in supporting recent l, president of the CIO Transport for independent political action by kerson, chairman of the symposium on School. Both also agreed that the untry are the threat of war and formation of a farmer-labor party ce. They disagreed on the steps to- iming.

ling for independent action well be- anus said:

security and democratic rights are inous, from both parties [Democrat ve who forced the people's issues in fight for peace in Korea, who alone truly representative United Nations ip with the growing socialist world; gh purposes of all the people's coali- ory—we stand today dismembered. where is the will or the initiative to fulfill a historic role when such a role is indicated, indeed needed, more desperately than at any time in our history. . . .

"Now the big question is, right now and for 1956, how can we help the mass opposition to self-destruction to express itself effectively. . . . Can we do it by staying out of the argument? Can we do it by replacing Eisenhower-Dulles-Radford-Knowland with Stevenson-Rayburn-Paul Douglas-Walter George-Eastland et al? . . . Can we do it in any other way than by shouting from our own political housetops, wherever we can erect them, reconstruct them or keep them standing—as we can fairly easily do in New York?"

HITCH UP THE HARNESS: McManus laid down no blueprint. He said the decision as to where there should be candidates on the ballot or whether there should be a national ticket in '56 was a matter for decision by progressives after a spring and summer of reorganization and consultation. To make such consultation possible McManus called for unity and good will among "people who pulled in the same harness" in past years.

See story on Mike Quill's position on p. 10

"MASSIVE PRESSURE": Gerson said the Progressive Party had failed "essentially because it was not based on organized labor," and the party "chiefly backed by American workers" was the Democratic Party. He asked:

"Is it not correct for labor and the progressive forces to organize their strength to exert massive pressure on the Democratic Party? Isn't it absolutely essential that the Democrats be forced to come out openly for negotiation [for peace] as a national policy and nominate candidates for President and Congress who support precisely the policies of peaceful co-existence and negotiation rather than atomic war? Can that be accomplished by taking progressives away from the mainstream movements of the people into a tiny, antiseptically pure party? Will we not thus narrow the gigantic movement for peaceful co-existence and negotiations? . . .

"Only by continuing to press labor and the Negro people to develop independent political action within that framework [of the two-party system] will we succeed in affecting the policies of the nation in the direction of peace and democracy. Those struggles within the two-party framework will take on many forms. But it is by those struggles that labor and its allies will learn that they cannot convert the Democratic Party into a people's party, that they must ultimately break with it and form a labor-farmer party of their own."

NO PARTISAN RIVALS: He said the ALP and similar groups could "play enormously valuable parts" but only "if they assess properly the developments within the labor and Negro people's movements and seek to stimulate and strengthen these rather than appear on the scene as partisan rivals."

Questioners from the floor asked Gerson what course he advised when Democrats failed to offer pro-labor, pro-peace candidates. He made no direct answer but indicated his satisfaction with a victory like Harriman's in N.Y. He said labor would have regarded it as a disaster if the ALP had won its ballot requirement of 50,000 votes at the expense of a Harriman victory. McManus assailed Harriman's record to date, said not he but Franklin Roosevelt Jr. had been labor's choice. He countered Gerson's stress on organized labor with an appeal to the foreign-born, the Negro people and similar groups crossing class lines.

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hitherto not witnessed in America and would be a long step in the direction of achieving some of the goals McManus and all of us are concerned with. Progressives should not stand apart from this vital kind of development in purist isolation but should aid it.

Allan Lee Kimmel

Ear to the ground

ELIZABETH, N. J.

A word of caution. While it is true that passivity is worse than erroneous activity, no political regrouping can be created by dictum, artifically as if in a laboratory according to a recipe, or according to a calendar schedule. It is better to keep one's ear close to the ground and find out what people are saying and demanding at the specific time.

There is a great feeling of anxiety and insecurity across the nation. Let the progressives issue an appeal to labor, farmer, even to the dissidents of both ruling parties, extend a hand of friendship and see what happens. **A. K.**

Apologies to A. K. for using only the above conclusion of an argument presented in 20 numbered sections, covering three single-spaced pages of typescript.—Ed.

Concrete basis needed

GLEN WILD, N. Y.

One "Achilles Heel" of the PP was that it had no solid core of goals and long-run strategy. As a result it was vulnerable to opposition taunts that it was being led by the only significant group in it which did have such definite goals and strategy, the Communist Party. The nagging suspicion that this taunt had more than a grain of truth in it was an important factor in alienating a great many who would accept fully the long-run goal of a democratic socialist society, but who do not believe that the CP strategy for achieving this goal is the one most likely to be successful in the American situation, even though it has been quite successful in a number of underdeveloped, pre-capitalist societies.

Consequently, it would seem that the most important requisite—and preliminary—to the development of effective, independent political party activity is the working out of a far more concrete intellectual basis for it—the kind of basis which was hammered out in Britain by the Fabian Society and many other similar groups preceding the effective growth of the Labour Party.

It is certainly none too early to really get to work at developing such a strategy. And it may well be that a "caucus" of left-wing and liberal political leadership may be helpful in this. But it may be that a smaller education-and-propaganda group might contribute equally as much.

The question is: Is the attempt to launch independent party activity in the absence of such an intellectual-strategic core more an act of desperation by those who have scant hope of success than a first step on the road to ultimate success? **Jack Atlee**

Groping young people

RICHMOND, VA.

To avoid a socialist program seems to me a fruitless indirection. What is more progressive than socialism? If we had some scientific basis for our calculations it would be helpful. There have been many changes and trends in recent years which have not to my knowledge been studied in their combined effects. It also seems to me to be an excellent time to educate ourselves and others. I have in mind especially the young people who are now groping around and are so likely to be misled by superficial liberalism or reformist capitalism. **Jim Perkins**

No faith in Democrats

NEW YORK, N. Y.

How can anybody have faith in and vote for the Democratic Party as it is now — spineless, and in many ways even more reactionary than the Republican Party? What we need is a living, fighting people's party. **A. Aanes**

Show the purpose

SPOKANE, WASH.

To expect labor as an organization, farmers as a class, professional people as such or any other group classification of American voters to initiate a move for independent political action at this time, is in my opinion wishful thinking. The politically developed progressives in labor organizations, farm organizations and among our professional classes should be, could be and I believe will be the people to form the political nucleus that will successfully launch a party proposing fundamental economic change. Nothing is to be gained by hiding the true purpose or intent of such a party.

The workers do all the useful work of society, yet they are denied the opportunity for working class political expression. The politicians and political writers who propose a coalition with any faction of the exploiting class are rendering a distinct disservice to the producers of the nation's wealth. They are ignorantly or otherwise confusing the real issue of the day. The real issue is death by perpetuating capitalism with its hydrogen bombs or survival by embracing a collective society based upon industrial morality and economic justice.

To back up their economic strength it is imperative that the workers have legal support that nothing but independent political party action can guarantee. We know from election returns that the name Progressive Party is indelibly stamped upon the minds of more than 140,000 politically-developed American voters. Any name chosen should avoid the implication of group limitation. The two words "Progressive Party" are in a sense all inclusive.

Albert Strout

Helping reaction?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I cannot possibly understand the basis for your conclusion that it is practical to organize a political party in 1955 which we failed to organize in 1948. I seriously believe your proposals would in practice serve the cause of reaction, not of progress. **James Burford**

"Down With Us"

FOREST HILLS, N. Y.

1. The program of the new party should be broad and conservative enough to permit the Democratic and Republican parties to join in a coalition with the new party.

2. The new party should not be socialistic, and to prove that it is not, it should fight for the abolition of Social Security and for a return of the Post Office to private hands (preferably to the Lehman and Harriman banking interests—this would be a brilliant political move sure to get support from the ADA).

3. An unqualified peace program obviously cannot get very broad support at the moment, and the new party's platform should therefore provide for preventing war under certain circumstances and for use of nuclear weapons, but on a very limited scale (we mustn't compromise too far).

4. The slogan of the new party should be "Down With Us."

Richard Koenig

Effect of politics

SEATTLE, WASH.

Indeed we do need a political party independent of reaction and conservatism, that eliminates the dilemma of the lesser of two evils. Now is the time to continue the building of one. While the struggle for human rights has gone on since the beginning of mankind, the recognition of the effects of politics and economics on those rights is relatively a new idea. The progressives of each generation have the responsibility and the privilege of building the foundations of the political thinking that will help the next generation achieve their and our aims.

Irene B. Hull

Why '48 failed

TUCSON, ARIZ.

The timing, the urgency of the Call are splendid. I am writing this to suggest that the lesson of '48 be carefully taken to heart. The failure of the '48 drive was due mainly to a lack of labor base; and that in turn was due to a lack of preliminary organizational work, to the "hurrah" spirit and a desire for immediate effect.

You want a Farmer-Labor Party, not for '56 alone, but as a militant, fighting entity for a long time to come. Unless laborers and farmers make this party their own, it can never amount to much. Without fanfare, with careful and tedious labor, you must seek out individuals and groups sympathetic to the idea, hold consultations, discussions—organize! **A. Heller**

Populist ideal

PORTLAND, ORE.

Ever since Bryan betrayed the Populist Party in 1900 I have hoped and prayed for a party to take its place. But to launch such a party will require as much wisdom as courage. I strongly recommend that it follow the lines of the successful Populist Party as closely as expedient and make its appeal so fundamental as to draw the support of the upper middle class as well as that of workers and farmers. To this end, Government ownership and control of the Federal Reserve System should be a main objective. **H. P. Lee**

The patient way

OAKLAND, CALIF.

The issues posed by brother McManus are real; the Republican and Democratic parties are alike unable to meet them. Now we conscious progressives can form a new party and lift high the banner of the good cause (complete with eloquent inscriptions) and march out to battle hoping that enough people will fall in behind us (I think our chances are considerably less than those of the proverbial snowball). Or we can work patiently, conscientiously, and systematically to try and raise the level of political participation and understanding of our neighbors and fellow workers. Or we can dig a hole, crawl in, and pull the hole in after us (which has neither dignity nor good sense).

I think the second alternative, though unquestionably the most agonizing, offers the only realistic possibility for progress.

The need for some kind of a national organization for progressives remains. I suggest "The National Guardian Press Assn." for the following reasons: (1) It is the main nationwide propaganda weapon for progressives today; it must be maintained. (2) A newspaper is an ideal means of coordinating national and local progressive campaigns. (3) The GUARDIAN has a broader following than any progressive organization or combination of organizations I can think of. **Union Man.**

Outline for action

SEATTLE, WASH.

A step we can take right now in Washington State, perhaps in most other states, is to have a meeting about every two weeks in practically every legislative district. To such meetings can be invited all people who are dissatisfied with present parties. Such meetings could be held in homes and could devote some time to discussion of third party prospects but their main concern should be with pressing current problems.

In this way, if prospects for independent political action look favorable, district organizations will be ready. If they do not look so good, our time will not have been wasted. **E. M. Fitzroy**

Morse for President

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The need for political maturity on the part of the American people stands out. In this respect Americans can learn from the British, the Scandinavians and other enlightened progressive peoples in Europe and Asia. As a matter for prompt and serious consideration, I should like forward-looking Americans to look to a man like Sen. Morse as a symbol and brilliant candidate for President. I am impressed with his sincerity on basic issues affecting Americans.

Abu Baky

Two reservations

BROOKLINE, MASS.

On first reading we were enthusiastic about your Call. We still favor the proposal, with reservations. First, we believe that such an independent party should not propose socialist measures at this time but limit itself to "friendly co-existence," peace, civil liberties and economic improvements. Otherwise many voters will be alienated. Secondly, we think such a party should be based on the existing Progressive Party and ALP. They offer a solid basis of progressive political thought and efficient volunteers. **Two Guardian Readers**

Calif. PP finished?

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

As an active trade unionist, a member and a worker for the Progressive Party and, at all times, an ardent supporter of the third party movement, my experiences during election time and since—and taking in the results—have convinced me that the people are still tied to the two party system. I cannot see how we can change the situation at this time. The Calif. Progressive Party as a third party is finished.

Instead of calling a conference to form a third party and promote socialism, it would be much better to call a conference to protect our civil rights and to fight against the fascist drive of the imperialists.

George McDonald

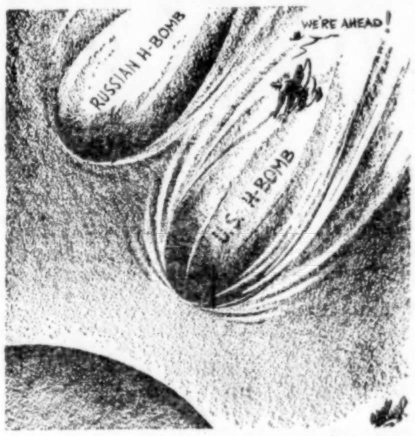
A-Bomb production

(Continued from Page 1)

ration. The President in his budget message, after noting that operating expenditures will rise "to the highest rate yet attained," added: "The estimates assume continuing reductions in unit production costs."

In other words, the AEC gets more bomb per dollar; hence weapons production will rise faster than dollar spending. Such economies develop as new plants get into systematic operation, and as huge blocks of low-cost electric power from new special facilities are made available.

ELECTRIC TOUCHSTONE: It is here that the full extent of atomic militarization is revealed. Electric power is a principal "raw material"—probably surpassing uranium in value—for production of atomic explosives. A recent survey published in the N.Y. **Times** (2/13) found that AEC has become the largest single consumer of electricity in the U.S., surpassing such giant users as GM and ALCOA.



Indianapolis Star

"But where are we going?"

That refers to 1954, when AEC took 4% of the country's power supply. In 1955 this is scheduled to rise to 9%, in 1956 to almost 13%. Allowing for the estimated total increase in power production, much of it due to rising H-bomb consumption, this comes out to the following quantities of AEC electric power use in kilowatt-hours: 19 billion in 1954, 47 billion in 1955, almost 74 billion in 1956.

Thus, in 1956 it will use 390% of what it used in 1954. To the extent that electric power use indicates the volume of atomic explosives manufactured, output of A- and H-bomb materials will increase almost four times. Add to this the gains accruing from more efficient conversion of electric power into atomic explosive power.

POWER-HUNGRY: To conceive of the vast quantity of atomic explosives involved, note that AEC's scheduled consumption in 1956 will amount to (all comparisons with actual 1954 figures):

- **¾ of electricity use by all U.S. private households;**
- **3½ times total U.S. farm use of electricity;**
- **⅜ total use of electricity by U.S. large-scale industry;**
- **More than total electricity produced by any other country except the U.S.S.R.**

The most optimistic estimates do not consider it possible that atomic energy will supply more than a few percent of total power a decade hence. Even if all of the projects for peaceful atomic power talked of by government and corporation heads materialize, they will not for the foreseeable future supply the civilian economy with more than a fraction of what is already being taken from the civilian economy for production of atomic explosives.

ONLY WAY OUT: The main concern is not the misuse of national energies and resources. It is the piling up of weapons of destruction on a scale which is scarcely conceivable. As the stockpile grows, so does the danger of its use. Few Americans retain illusions that we would suffer less than others in a nuclear war. Is it not time they took action to avert the danger? Is it not time to press for diplomatic efforts to this end?

Given the will to end the menace of atomic extermination, the government could in short order reach agreement with the U.S.S.R. on (1) freezing existing production rates; (2) stopping all future production of atomic explosives and outlawing their use; (3) destroying stockpiles of atomic weapons and instituting a system of inspection and control to prevent violations.

Plainly, the Administration has no such desire; only the people can force a change in policy.

Active or radioactive?

LONDON

Feeling in Britain over Washington's Formosa policy is so hostile that MP's have raised in Commons the question of whether Britain can any longer risk allowing the U.S. to maintain its bases there.

The danger of A-bomb bases to Britons living nearby was stressed at community meetings in Leiston, Suffolk, and Braintree, Essex, on Jan. 29 and 31. The resolution presented to the local council at Leiston, where the U.S. Air Force provides "steam-heated quarters, pheasant shooting, steaks from Ireland and large consignments of whisky from Scotland . . . to keep up the GIs' morale," described the 4,000-population village as "part of a primary target in a future war." At Braintree, with hundreds of U.S. airmen looking on, citizens demonstrated through the streets with the slogans: "Better active now than radioactive tomorrow," "Don't drop it, stop it."

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NEW YORK

Where do 10 million kids go while their moms work?

By Ione Kramer

NEW YORK CITY's annual Day Care Week (Feb. 28-Mar. 6) is a local event highlighting a critical national problem: care for children while their mothers work. In 1950, when more than a third of all workers were women, 5 million women workers—one out of every four— had children under 18; nearly 2 million had children too young to go to school; 7 million children were in families where both parents had a job. Today well over 10 million U.S. children have no place to go while Mom's on the job.

Day-care needs are of three kinds: for infants and children under 3, all-day nurseries for pre-school 3-6-year-olds, and after-school care for older kids. For the first group no facilities are now available, although during World War II some factories provided it to attract women workers. Now a working mother must find sitters, paying them a large chunk of her paycheck; but for the first time this year she can deduct this expense for income tax.

FEDERAL AID STOPPED: Nursery schools, becoming increasingly popular for kids over three, do not help a parent with a job because the child attends only a few hours a day, while day-care centers span job hours. At a well-run center the child follows a schedule of supervised indoor and outdoor play, eats and naps in cheerful surroundings with trained nursery teachers. But nowhere in the U.S. do such centers begin to meet the need. The same is true for after-school programs which, in some communities, provide limited club or play activities in schools or Y's for kids who after 3 p.m. would be wandering the streets with door-keys strung around their necks.

During World War II, under the Lanham Act, Federal funds paid 66% of the bill for day-care centers in emergency defense areas. In July, 1944, 129,357 children attended 3,102 centers in 47 states. When Federal funds ended early in 1946, most communities could not afford to keep the centers open. Now only California and Massachusetts, which has a very limited program, have funds for this purpose. In some cities like Detroit and New York, centers are administered through welfare departments. Many day-care advocates, considering such care the right of working parents and their children, urge that it be handled through the school system as it is in Philadelphia and California.

The U.S. Labor Dept.'s Women's Bureau found large percentages of working women and serious day-care needs not only in large cities, but in towns under 5,000 population. As many mothers have jobs now as during World War II, but the day-care picture, minus Federal funds, is many times worse.

NO "DOOR-KEY CHILDREN" THESE

New York's 115 non-profit day care centers will have open house and many special programs during Day Care Week, Feb. 28-Mar. 6, an annual event emphasizing the need for more such facilities. The Welfare Dept. can direct you to one in your neighborhood.

TOTS AND DOGS: In New York City, 115 non-profit centers serve 6,000 children, two-thirds of whom are ages 3 to 5. Mrs. Randolph Guggenheimer, president of the Day Care Council of N.Y., which coordinates these agencies in co-operation with the Welfare Dept., told the GUARDIAN that in N.Y.C. at least 100,000 children would benefit from day care and there was "greatest need" of it for 10,000. Centers in the five boroughs are run by private agencies which get 85% of their funds from the Welfare Dept.'s $7 million budget for this purpose. The other 15% of the cost comes from parents' fees, which range from $1.50 to $15.50 per week for full day care, based on the family's income. This "means test" excludes many middle-income families who can't afford the $80 or $85-a-month payments in private nurseries run for profit.

Some of New York's 300-odd private centers are well-run, but a nationwide study by **Woman's Home Companion** (Sept., '54) found many youngsters "housed in firetraps, herded in dark, miserable rooms" with "untrained attendants whose prime objective is to keep children quiet . . . plunked down and made to color in color-crayon books the livelong day, or even made to sit still doing nothing."

Out of 112 cities surveyed, the **Companion** found 57 had compulsory supervision of the centers; but in New York and Pennsylvania "it is reported to be easier to open a day-care center than a dog kennel" because strict state laws cover animal care, but local ordinances cover nurseries. In Dallas, Tex., where 1,517 children were in licensed centers and 4,000 in unlicensed ones, the State Child Welfare Divn. tried to raise standards, but found if they closed the unlicensed centers there was no other place to send the children.

THERE'S NO MONEY: To many communities already pressed for dependent children's welfare needs and regular school system funds, day care has seemed a "luxury item." In California, PTA's and other groups are mobilizing to save the state's $5.5 million program of 246 centers for 10,500 children, which will close June 30 unless the legislature acts to continue them. In New York, Gov. Harriman recognizes the need but has not budgeted for it. N.Y.C.'s Mayor Wagner has asked for $2 million, and the N.Y. Teachers Union has urged $3 million for this purpose. Bills for the latter figure have been introduced by State Sens. Crisona and Donovan and Assemblymen Fox and Ryan.

In 1945 nine national women's, educational and welfare organizations meeting in Washington declared that "our country is without a planned policy concerning its children" and that "financial co-operation of the Federal government with the States and communities is necessary." Along with co-ordination of all children's programs, they urged $5 million Federal aid through the Office of Education and the Children's Bureau specifically for child care centers. They succeeded in postponing the end of Lanham grants several months, but didn't get the $5 million, and there has been no Federal legislation in this field since.

WHAT TO DO? The Labor Dept. Women's Bureau has issued two helpful studies on the problem, citing the need for increasing local and national attention, but it can only act as an adviser and fact-finder. There is now no national group lobbying ex-

(Continued on Page 10)

CALENDAR

Chicago

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Los Angeles

EDGAR SNOW, foreign correspondent, author of "**RED STAR OVER CHINA**" speaks on, "**THE CONDITIONS OF CO-EXISTENCE,**" Sun., March 6, 8 p.m., at Valley Unitarian - Universalist Church, 14933 Victory Blvd. (Van Nuys).

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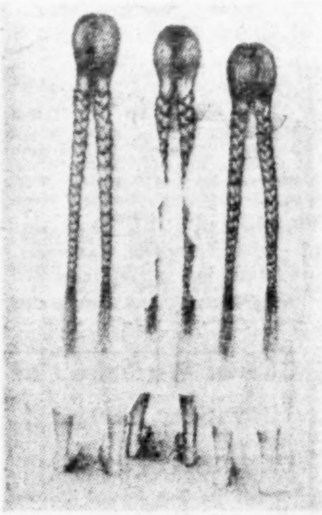

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LABOR

Mike Quill balks at merger, presses stand on politics

PRESIDENT Michael J. Quill of the CIO Transport Workers Union used his convention last week to underscore two major points: (1) his union will not affiliate with a merged AFL-CIO organization until "unqualifiedly assured" on five major conditions; (2) he will continue his campaign for independent political action by labor. He carried his stand on affiliation with only 18 dissenting votes from the 500 delegates; a resolution on independent political action was adopted unanimously.

The five conditions for TWU affiliation with a merged AFL-CIO demand that the new organization:

"Outlaws second-class citizenship for any working man because of race, color or creed.

"Recognizes the integrity of each of the unions which make up the united labor organization and pledges itself to ostracize and expel any group that seeks to promote selfish interests by raiding or other attacks on another union.

MICHAEL QUILL
Don't be a kite tail

"Guarantees the elimination from labor's ranks of every form of dishonesty, exploitation, racketeering.

"Pledges its full resources to the organization of the unorganized.

"Utilizes the full political power of the organized workers of our nation so that true democracy, civil rights, and economic freedom be securèd and maintained for all Americans in every corner of the land."

TOO CLOSE A HOOK: Asked by a reporter why an anti-communism plank wasn't included in his list of conditions, Quill answered:

"We're leaving that to the AFL and Joe McCarthy. We're not in the business of looking under the beds of people."

On political action, Quill declared of the CIO:

"We are becoming, week by week, the left wing of the Democratic Party. We have hooked ourselves too closely to the corrupt machines of the Democratic Party."

Democrats take the CIO for granted

". . . because they believe we have nowhere else to go. But I am not so sure that we have no other place to go. . . The time is rapidly approaching when the 62,000,000 wage earners of this country will build a new party—a party that will be the first party. . . . We are not enjoined from raising this question. It is not a dirty word to talk of a new political party."

STRANGLING CHAINS: The unanimous resolution on political action called for "the freedom of CIO and its components from the influence, domination or control of any political party" and urged CIO's Political Action Committee to call an early national conference

". . . to consider the most effective method for the advancement of the political interests of our organized workers, farmers and consumers on a state and national level."

The resolution warned that "if we chain PAC to either of the two present political parties, we are strangling and destroying its future effectiveness" and said it should be free from the "forced choice between existing political alignments in states where labor cannot in decency support either party."

A FIGHT AHEAD: Louis Hollander, New York State CIO president, and Joseph Curran, head of the CIO Natl. Maritime Union, both defended the AFL-CIO merger agreement as it now stands, but John V. Riffe, CIO executive vice-president, sided with Quill and said he was "not at all sure unity will be achieved." Riffe, who is also an official of the CIO United Steelworkers, was promptly repudiated in his stand by the steel union president David J. McDonald. He said Riffe's opinions are the "opposite of the official position of the United Steelworkers."

Quill is expected to make a fight for his position when the CIO executive board meets in Washington on Feb. 24 to consider the merger agreement.

WORKERS OF NEW YORK!

You have nothing to lose but your homes!

IT DOES NOT make sense to allow 'workers "who contribute nothing" but their labor to the city to occupy housing "which could be put to better use."

That is the opinion of Dr. Herbert B. Dorau, head of New York University's real estate dept., expressed last week to an enthusiastic dinner meeting of the Real Estate Board of N.Y., management division.

Dr. Dorau envisions a "redeveloped" New York with business buildings covering "superblocks" that span intersections, a bustling port and a lower East Side of teeming luxury apartments. Subway rushes would be eliminated by eliminating people who rush. Slums would be done away with along with the slum dwellers. The professor said he was not opposed to all people living in New York. He wants housing to accommodate those "who can afford to pay decent taxes."

GRASS IS GREENER: He was outraged by plans for medium-rent housing south of Washington Sq., an area he thought ideal for executives.

"The factory worker," he said, "is not at all unhappy driving on an uncongested highway eight or ten miles to his job in a modern plant with a big parking lot and probably trees and green grass surrounding it."

When the GUARDIAN, seeking clarification, reached Dr. Dorau by telephone, he said the workers could be made to see the advantages of leaving the city. "They go to live where its cheapest to live," he said. It would be made cheaper to live out of town by removing rent control in town. He told the GUARDIAN: "Rent control is vicious and its only motive is political." Land must be used scientifically: "Why don't we run a grazing meadow in the heart of the city?"

When the GUARDIAN remonstrated mildly the professor said the subject was too technical for journalists.

Child care

(Continued from Page 9)

clusively for Federal day-care aid. New York's Day Care Week is the only affair of its kind in the nation. But the **Companion** found 56 cities which had recently surveyed or are studying their needs.

"What can citizens do to work out more day care?" the GUARDIAN asked Mrs. Guggenheimer. "Get together with three or four others who feel the same way and start talking to people," she advised. The Child Welfare League (345 E. 46th St., N.Y.C.), a national welfare agency, can provide material on community programs for PTA's, women's clubs, unions and others wanting to alert their communities. But the best survey or community plan will not become a reality without political action leading to funds.

Day care benefits the children, the mothers, and the community. Funds for it today mean community savings in fighting juvenile delinquency tomorrow.

NEW PAMPHLET

Melish on the Braden Case

THE significance of the childhood religious instruction of Anne Braden, who, with her husband Carl now jailed for the "crime," helped Negro Andrew Wade buy a house in Louisville, Ky., was the subject of a sermon by the Rev. Wm. Howard Melish Feb. 6 at Holy Trinity Church (Episcopalian), Brooklyn, N. Y. Melish described how her training in a P. E. church in Alabama, and her preoccupation with the contradiction between brotherhood as taught and practised there, led her and her husband—who was raised as a Catholic—to fight discrimination through church groups in Kentucky. In a letter to Melish, Mrs. Braden, whose trial begins Feb. 28, wrote that when Wade asked their help, she felt if they had refused "we would have been guilty as those of whom Christ said, 'I was hungered and ye gave me no meat. . . .'"

Copies of the sermon are being distributed as a pamphlet, **When Christians Become Subversive**, by the Episcopal League for Social Action (10c), 157 Montague St., Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

SAT. & SUN. at 8:40
3 STEPS FORWARD
by Eleanor Carlson. dir. E. Castro
"Elating," D. W. "Zest and humor," Guardian. "Each play seems like life itself," Freiheit.
RING THEA., 28th St. & 9th Av.
(See Signs) Cont. WA 9-7730

Tercentenary Presentation
The Golden Thread
Karen MORLEY Edna STARR
Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus; Eugene Malek, Conductor; Hyman Silver, soloist; New Century Dance Group, and others.
SAT., FEB. 26—8:30 P.M.
NEW TERRACE GARDENS
2145 Boston Rd., Bronx (181 St.)
Admission $1.25
Ausp: Bronx Emma Lazarus Clubs

Choral Workshop of
Jewish Young Folksingers
presents its 2nd Annual Concert
"Because All Men Are Brothers"
SAT., FEB. 26, 8:30 P.M.
The Pythian 71 St., E. of Bway
Guest Artists: Latin American Cultural Society directed by Jean Murai
Tickets: $1.20 & $1.80

Give an introductory sub to the Guardian.

SONG OF INDIA!
Rimsky-Korsakoff Opera
SADKO
with Moscow Corps de Ballet
ALSO Variety Stars
STANLEY, 7 Av., 42-41 Sts.

JENNY WELLS VINCENT
will sing in New York
on March 18

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handwrought sterling jewelry
175 west 4 st., nyc
noon to 10 p.m. or 5-8287

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Shaslik, Beef Strogonoff, Potato Pancakes and other tasty Russian and American Dishes.
Alex's
69 W. 10th St. (at 6th Av.)
Dinner: $1.35-$2, also a la carte
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2, 4, 6, 8 wk. periods available
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CAMP MIDVALE is a cooperative, interracial camp for people who work for a living. Knowing how hard it is nowadays for families to afford a vacation, we are suggesting the following plan to make it easier for you to spend some time in the country this summer:
- Make your reservation now.
- Start paying now in small weekly or monthly installments, according to your convenience.
- There is no extra charge for this plan and no strings attached.
We will be glad to send you additional information.
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THURS., MARCH 31
"Once Over Lightly"
a new revue written by
Ira Wallach, Ronnie Graham and Mel Brooks
Music by Alec Templeton
Directed by Stanley Prager
with Sono Osato, Jack Gilford and Zero Mostel
Orch. 6.50. Mezz. $5
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Enclosed $........ Please send me ...... tickets.
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Address ....
City ....
Zone....... State..............

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Tall Tales • Plays • Folk Songs
REX INGRAM, WILL GEER, Fred Hellerman and others
FOLKSAY THEATRE
85 E. 4th St. (off 2nd Av.)
Adm. by Cont. SU 7-4885

NEW YORK CALENDAR

★ EVENT ★
OF THE SEASON!
Friday Eve., Mar. 4—8:30
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
A Distinguished Panel
Debates:
"GERMANY REARMED — SECURITY OR PERIL?"
A Clash of Opinion
●
Speakers:
HON. CLAUDE G. BOWERS
U.S. Ambassador to Repub. Spain; Chairman, Demo. Natl. Convention; Author: "My Mission to Spain."
●
HOWARD WATSON AMBRUSTER
Industrialist, Journalist; Expert on German Cartels and I.G. Farben
●
B. Z. GOLDBERG
Daily Columnist, Ex-Managing Ed. of "Jewish Day"; Noted Historian
●
PROF. EMIL J. GUMBEL
U. of Berlin ('53-'54); Columbia, New School; Heidelberg, Sorbonne
●
ALSO—SPECIAL STATEMENTS BY SENATOR RALPH E. FLANDERS
and
JAMES P. WARBURG
●
Questions: Refreshments
YORKVILLE TEMPLE, 157 E. 86 St.
★ Contr: 85c. Membs: 75c ★

CLUB CINEMA presents the final film in the Gorki Trilogy, "MY UNIVERSITIES," on Feb. 25-27. "The whole trilogy looms gigantically . . . (with a) vision broad, lively, compassionate"—film critic, NEW STATESMAN & NATION. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. at 430 6th Av. (nr. 9th St.) Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: Some more psychological films.

SAT., FEB. 26. You cheered them in "Ballad for Americans." Now come to the exciting concert of the Choral Workshop of the Jewish Young Folksingers at The Pythian, 130 W. 70th St. Chorus and orchestral ensemble under direction of Bob De Cormier and Madeline Simon. Guest artists: Latin American Cultural Society, directed by Jean Mural. Tickets: $1.80 & $1.20.

POETRY GUILD ART FESTIVAL Featuring Poems of: Loker Raley, Maxwell Bodenheim, Pablo Neruda. With Songs by: Augusta Derwin. Guests Artists: Marina Brian, Will Anthony Madden. Fri., Sat., Sun., Feb. 25, 26, 27, 8:30 p.m. at Studio Theatre, 469 6 Av. (nr. 11 St.) Refreshments & social hour. Sub. $1.

ASP Writing & Publishing Forum, Tues., March 1, 8:30 p.m., at ASP Galleries 35 W. 64th St. Dr. Samuel Sillen & Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein will discuss: "WHITMAN & NERUDA — Two Great American Poets." All welcome.

TCHAIKOWSY CULTURAL CLUB presents concert and dance, Sat., Feb 26, 8:30 p.m., at Malin Studios, 225 W. 46th St. A candelit buffet, orchestra. Cont. $1.25.

SONGS AND DANCES OF MEXICANS IN SOUTHWEST, PERU, HAITI, PUERTO RICO. Fri., Mar. 18, 8 p.m., at Hotel Woodstock, in program featuring Jenny Wells Vincent's first N.Y. appearance. Elliot Sullivan, of Broadway and Hollywood, reads true account of Guatamalan escapee. Also J. Davila Samprit, Puerto Rican poet; Betty Millard, Kumar Goshal. Adm. $1. Auspices: Latin America Today.

SUNDAY FORUM—Feb. 27, 8 p.m. "The Relations of Heavy Industry, Light Industry and Agriculture in Capitalist & Socialist Economies," with Myer Weise. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

SUN., FEB. 27, 8:15 P.M.
Hear **DR. JOSEPH B. FURST**, noted psychiatrist, author, "The Neurotic and his World," talk on: Changing Ideas of Neurosis, at ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Question period. Contribution: 75c.

JAZZ NIGHT—African Rhythms to Be Bop, on records, showing the development of Jazz, especially the contribution of the Negro people. ALP, 13th A.D., 3410 B'way, Rm. 201 (nr. 138th St.), Sat., Feb. 26, 8:30 p.m. Contrbuition: 50c.

TV BLACKOUT PARTY. Neg o History Week Exhibit. Sat., Feb. 26 9 p.m. Refreshments. ASP, 35 W. 64th St. SU 7-4677, Cont. $1.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

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HI-FI PHONO—3 Speakers, Popular Make. Reg. $129.95. SPEC. at dealer's net $84. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Av. (13 & 14 Sts.) GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

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Fine selection of costume jewelry, antique and diamond jewelry, silverware—modern and antique. Repair or remodel your old jewelry.
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22 W. 48 St. (Rm. 1103) CO 5-1881

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Wanted: PLUMBER, ELECTRICIAN, WATCH REPAIR RADIO REPAIR, LIQUOR STORE. GUARDIAN office has been beseiged with calls for these services. If you fit any of the above descriptions, an ad in the classified section will bring gratifying results.

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Manhattan and Bronx Only
AARON'S TV SERVICE
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SOFA REWEBBED. Relined Springs Retied in your home. Reasonable. Furniture repaired, Remodeled. Custom Slipcovered, Reupholstered Foam Rubber Cushioning. Call mornings 9-1 HY 8-7887.
Fraternal Attention

SPIKE'S MOVING and pick-up service, city and country, short notice or plan ahead. Occasional long distance jobs accepted. Tel. EN 4-7707.

CORRECTION
In the American Socialist ad in the February 14 issue Detroit attorney Charles C. Lockwood was incorrectedly listed as Chas. Cook.

BENDIX-THOR-MONITOR-A.B.C. Repairs and Service. Used washers bought and sold.
WASHCO — GE 4-4228

MOVING, STORAGE, EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS. Profit by my 20 years experience. Call ED WENDEL, JE 6-8000 on any moving problem.

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NORMA CATERERS. Now booking that special occasion in temple, home or office. Anywhere in metropolitan area. Phone now and plan your cocktail or dinner parties. Hor d'Ouevres at all times. Tel.: ES 3-9490.

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Carl BRODSKY
INSURANCE
Automobile, Fire, Life, etc.
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Private work our speciality.
Good Materials ● Reasonable Prices
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Moving and light hauling anywhere. Good service at bargain prices. ST 9-3262.

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BROOKLYN, with or without kitchen privileges, for single man or woman. Call BE 2-4754.

WANTED APT. TO SHARE

YOUNG WOMAN would like to share apartment, own room, Manhattan. Write Box J, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7. Call EV 5-7126 week-end.

How to cure that thirst

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Last week I was shivering to hear it was going to be war. If a few of our politicians are so thirsty for bloodshed, why don't they go out with a butcher knife some place and cut their own throats? I know the lives of our boys are not dear to them, but they are dear to us.

A. V. C.

799 B'way, Rm. 545 GR 3-5740
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Quality Work ● Quick Service
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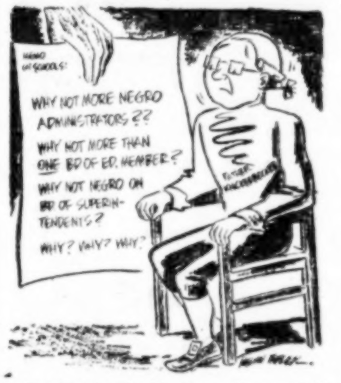
THE ALBANY BUDGET BATTLE:

Short-changed teachers turn on the heat

FOR the first time in years Mayor Wagner had a friendly fellow-Democrat to visit on his annual hat-in-hand pilgrimage to the Governor's mansion. When the conference was over reporters asked Gov. Harriman: "What did you give him?" Harriman said: "Lunch."

Harriman reportedly also gave him a promise of more consideration for the city's needs perhaps next year, "sympathy" with Wagner's decision to raise taxes, and hope that a commission might untangle city-state relationships. Along with lunch, sympathy and hope the Mayor took home with him an even smaller share of state grants than GOP governors had budgeted. (The larger state-wide budget, however, netted the city $21,366,790 more than Dewey had given.)


HEAD OF SCHOOLS:
WHY NOT MORE NEGRO ADMINISTRATORS ??
WHY NOT MORE THAN ONE BD OF ED. MEMBER?
WHY NOT NEGRO ON BD OF SUPERINTENDENTS?
WHY? WHY? WHY?

Tapley in Amsterdam News. N.Y.
QUIZ PROGRAM

PAY MORE, GET LESS: To the average New Yorker the new harmony between City Hall and Albany means less noisy name-calling but the same upward climb of taxes and decline in services. The Governor has already canceled the 10% abatement on the state tax, in effect in recent years, and proposed boosting the gasoline tax by 10%; the Mayor has asked for State permission to make permanent the city sales tax. (The Governor seemed very sympathetic to this "demand.")

At the public hearing before the joint Senate-Assembly fiscal committees Feb. 17, the Mayor said he was "very reluctant" to press for a city-wide tax on business and the Governor went along with that reluctance. Wagner also won Harriman's support for restoration of the full 2½% city realty tax. (The Dewey administration in its efforts to force acceptance of the Transit Authority limited the city's revenue powers and set the realty tax at 2¼%.)

BUDGET BLASTED: While the Mayor fought for the Governor's sympathy some 1,000 persons, speaking for trade unions, teachers' and parents' groups, the American Labor Party and community organiaztions angrily tore into the proposed state budget. Teachers Union representative Mrs. Rose Russell denounced it for its silence on teachers' salaries, the teacher shortage and the acute school building crisis. She called the proposals a continuation of "the present outmoded and inequitable formula for state aid to education" and "a status-quo budget in a time of crisis."

The T.U. commended proposed experimental programs in rehabilitation of older persons and education for children of migratory families, and the appointment of special assistants to the Governor for consumer problems and the aged, but pointed out that except for $6.1 million, all proposed expenditures did no more than carry on established programs.

ALP'S PROGRAM: Isidore Fried, vice-pres. of the United Parents Assn., asked: "How many more broken campaign promises, how many more lost elections will there be before candidates realize that parents remember in November if their children are cheated in March?"

ALP exec. secy. Morris Goldin offered a program of boosting taxes on incomes above $9,000 while continuing the abatement on lower incomes. He estimated that such a shift would yield $65 million. Goldin attacked the $2 million reduction in the budget for rent-control administration, the boosted gasoline levy and the inadequate sums for schools and new programs.

WORRIED UNIONISTS: A delegation of 150 representing CIO unions in textile, steel, retail and wholesale, auto, lithographic and clothing industries lobbied with committee chairmen for a resolution memorializing Congress on the $1.25 minimum wage. The issue is vital to New Yorkers who see industries fleeing south for cheap labor. Such resolutions have already been filed by Sen. Santangelo (D-Man.) and Assemblyman Austin (D-Man.) The unionists also urged resistance to any "weakening" of rent controls and passage of four bills which would raise unemployment benefits and extend coverage.

Teachers kept up the heat in Albany Feb. 21 when the T.U., the City-wide Grass Roots Committee and the High School Teachers Assn. traveled in special trains for a mass lobby. The chief teacher demand is for $100 million increase in state aid to education. Mayor Wagner asked for an $18 million boost but indicated the need "far exceeds" that sum.

Claude Bowers speaks Mar. 4

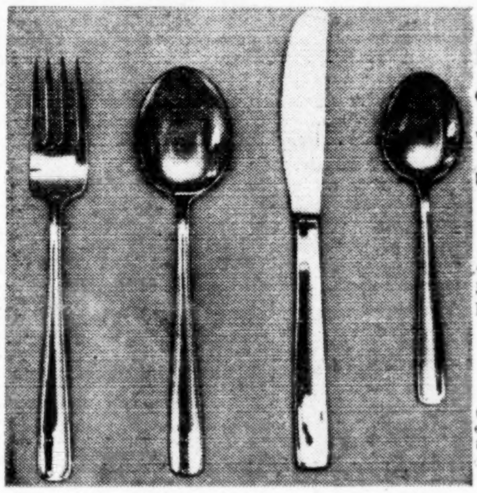
CLAUDE G. BOWERS, U.S. ambassador to Spain from 1933-1939, will head the speakers' panel at the Yorkville Compass Forum, Friday evening, March 4. Joining him in a discussion on "Germany Rearmed—Security or Peril," will be Howard Watson Ambruster, authority on German cartels; B. Z. Goldberg, columnist of the **Jewish Day**, and Prof. Emil J. Gumbel of the University of Berlin, Columbia University and the New School for Social Research.

Statements written especially for the meeting by Sen. Ralph E. Flanders (R-Vt.) and James P. Warburg will be read.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

A mail order service offering consumer-tested merchandise at a saving.

*SPECIAL OFFER: *Be our guest*



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4 pc. Place Setting for Inspection

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(Money refunded after inspection, if you are not convinced)

In seven months almost 800 GUARDIAN families have taken advantage of our Imported Stainless Steel offer. Yet, we believe there are hundreds more who need and would buy but are skeptical about how we can sell at half the price of comparable models.

The answer is that large companies spend millions in advertising and merchandising through wholesalers, jobbers, distributors and retailers and this amount is tacked on the price so there is a profit for all concerned. Our model is copied from a famous Scandinavian design and crafted in Japan, which has favorable tariff relations with the United States.

Nevertheless, we believe the tableware speaks for itself. If you see it, we are certain you will buy it and recommend it to others. Therefore, we make this offer:

For one dollar (less than our cost) we will send a four-piece place setting for examination. Keep it for ten days. Show it to your friends. Compare it with other models for price, design, construction. If you agree it is an outstanding value, fill out your setting from the offers below and remit the difference (i.e, for a $12.95 setting send $11.95; for a $16.95 setting send $15.95).
If you are not convinced, return the setting and your dollar will be refunded immediately.

* *This offer is limited and may be withdrawn at any time. There is a limit of one place setting to a customer*

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SPECIAL OFFERS

24 pc. service for 6

Consists of 6 each of dinner knives, dinner forks, tea spoons and soup spoons......$12.95 ppd.

(If you have a $1 trial setting, remit $11.95 for the balance).

32 pc. service for 8

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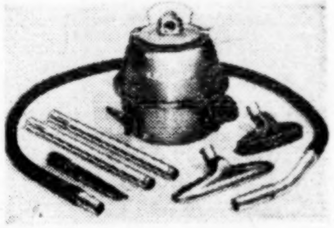
Soup Spoons	55c ea.
Tea Spoons	40c ea.
Serving Spoons	70c ea.



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No dust bag to empty. 2-4 lbs. lighter than other cleaners. 4/5 HP motor. Adjustable suction. Comes with following attachments: rug nozzle, upholstery nozzle, crevice tool, dust brush, 2 metal adapters and wall brush. Shipped express (Pay co. shipping charges).

LIST PRICE: $69.95
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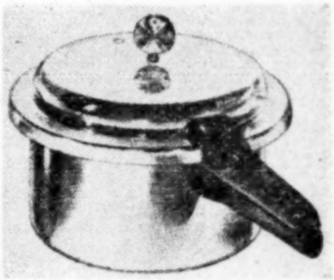

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Top rated by an independent consumer research org. Automatic pressure control. Made of thick gauge, hard aluminum alloy.

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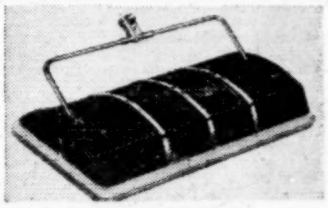

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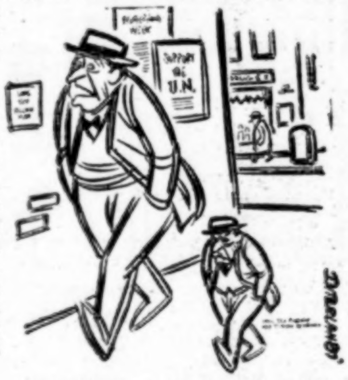
the SPECTATOR

May a Jew rejoice?

THERE were Jewish seamen sailing with Columbus. But the first Jews to settle here were 23 immigrants fleeing from the Inquisition in 1655. Peter Stuyvesant, rabid colonial governor, refused to admit them. But the Jews made contact with rebellious Dutch rank-and-filers in New Amsterdam. It was America's first battle for civil rights and the people won.

Thus, the Jews have lived here for 300 years. The tercentenary is now being celebrated in many cities. Uptown in New York an exhibition stresses the smug, devitalized conservatism of the wealthy minority. I have seen the other exhibition at 189 Second Av., on the proletarian East Side. It is a great honor roll of rare prints, documents and pictures that illustrate the struggle of the Jew in the cause of American democracy.



Interlandi in Cincinnati Enquirer
"You'd have to be a pretty 'small' person to have racial prejudices nowadays, Pete."

A WALL ST. PLOT? You will see the bearded young faces of Jews who suffered with Washington's ragged men that winter at Valley Forge. Col. David Franks served through the war on Washington's staff. In New York a congregation gave up its houses and personal property and went into voluntary exile rather than co-operate with the British invaders. My favorite hero of the time is Major Benjamin Nones, a veteran who went on fighting under Jefferson to establish the new democracy. Taunted by anti-Semitic Tories, he proudly answered: "I am for the Republic precisely because I am poor, and I am a Jew."

Despite the big lie that all Jews are cunning financiers, the masses of Jews have generally been poor workers and farmers. How else explain the vast Jewish slums of the great immigrations that began in the eighties? Were these starving consumptive paupers really millionaires in disguise? The Jewish workers played a great role in bringing Marxist socialism to America. Was this really a Wall Street plot? The Jewish workers fought and bled to form great trade unions that once led in the march of American labor.

EAST SIDE HEROES: It was touching to see old photographs of the East Side of my boyhood, with its tenement hunger, and sweatshops, and idealism. The East Side elected the first Socialist Congressman in America, the late Meyer London. And the paupers had a rich Yiddish culture, whose poets wrote folk song, whose playwrights wrote folk drama. Oh, those theatre nights, when sweatshop toilers wept over the sorrows of King Lear or Goethe's Faust! My father was a theatre-lover and before I was 12 I had seen plays in Yiddish by Gorki, Tolstoy, Shakespeare, Jacob Gordin and Sholem Aleichem. The exhibition portrays this golden age, and its great actors who walked among us like kings.

Two photographs fascinated me. One was of a founder of the Workmen's Circle, a sort of mutual aid and insurance group. It has become quite reactionary, but one of its founders was M. Goldenreich, who is seen in his red blouse and blue militia coat of a fighter in the French Commune.

Another photo is of Ben Gold, for many years leader of the Fur Workers, a union established in battle with the killers of the Lepke-Gurrah mob. Ben is shown as a boy of 14, sitting among a group of leaders. His strong, pure young face and idealist eyes tell you why he came to be a leading striker at 14, a member of his union's executive at 16.

THE NOBLE STORY: From the start the Jews were active in the abolition movement. August Bondi, a young forty-eighter, fought under John Brown in bloody Kansas. Ernestine Rose was a remarkable figure of her time who toured the country speaking against threats of lynchers for abolition and women's rights.

There were 6,500 Jewish soldiers in the Union Army, including eight generals. They earned seven Congressional medals for valor.

In battles of the 1930 depression, in the cruel war for Spain where half the foreign volunteers were killed, Jews were prominent. In every lost cause or tidal lift of democracy they were present, hoping, striving, bleeding and dying in the ranks.

There is too much wealth in the tercentenary exhibition for me to give even the titles. The Jews in music like George Gershwin and Aaron Copland, the Jews in literature and art, agriculture, commerce, trade unionism, law—it is a noble story, of gifts of the oppressed given despite slander and fascist lie. America is a nation of nations. All the national minorities have contributed their tithe of democratic struggle to the grand total. The contribution of the Jew, as of the Negro, has long been submerged and obscured by the enemy. May a Jew rejoice this once that his own tradition is finally revealed?

—Michael Gold

The spirit is strong

DETROIT, MICH.

Enclosed is a check for $10. My apologies for the long delay in this two-year sub renewal. The other $4 is conscience money for having kept you waiting so long. Were I not a witch-hunted and recently deposed teacher, this lapse might not have occurred.

Blanche Northwood